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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 May 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## SLOVENIAN AUTHOR REFUTES REVIVAL OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1985 pp 47-48

[Article in RAZPRAVE IN GRAVIDO by Rudi Cacinovic]

[Text] Recently there has been more and more talk about Hungarian nationalism in the states neighboring on Hungary. Is it actually talk about the phantom of Hungarian nationalism? Several warning voices have also been raised by us, particularly in the Voivodina. Regarding this, there are many who recall the revisionist propaganda between the two World Wars which wrecked every call for peaceful friendship treaty it had signed with Yugoslavia. And then there followed the "cold days" at Ujvidek and other atrocities of the occupation. Many Hungarians, particularly the young, still ask how all this could have happened. Is the new Hungarian nationalism again verifying that history does not teach anyone anything? What is, in fact, taking place in Hungary?

The fruitful results of the Hungarian reform have clearly resulted from the sweat and work of the broad Hungarian masses. The successes have created a stir among Hungarian intellectuals, restoring consciousness of the workers which declined in strength after the 1956 catastrophe. This development has also started a process of thinking about the situation and future of the Hungarians. Writers and scientists have also dealt in various works with the question concerning the situation of Hungarian nationality groups living in the neighboring states. Questions relating to the Hungarians in Romania have become particularly strained. Here it is the matter of a large minority living in a territorially compact area and possessing a rich cultural and political tradition. There have also been difficulties in relations between the highest party and state leaderships regarding the fate of the Hungarians in Romania.

It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the official position of the Hungarian state on the one hand and the views and written statements of various cultural, even "dissident" circles--we are speaking of international dissidents--on the other. Official representatives stress Leninist principles which should not be in dispute among socialist states joined together in a military and economic bloc and among communist parties in power. It is clear, however, that the Hungarian youth which has been brought up on Marxist-Leninist principles is learning in this area, too, that actual developments are not always in harmony with principles. Moreover, the youth encounter explanations

and persons with explanations who are not only unsupportive of Leninist-Marxist principles but also ignore old and recent charges. Old Hungary from the time of the Austro-Hungarian dualism as well as interbellum "rump" Hungary was built on the principle of a nationally unified state, although not even one-half of the citizens in the Hungarian monarchy were of Hungarian nationality. It is also certainly true that the neighbors of present-day socialist Hungary cannot build a social society according to concepts of some kind of national monolith. The intermingling of the various ethnic groups along the Danube makes it impossible to establish state boundaries according to ethnic boundaries in the strict sense unless once more we resettle the peoples living along the Danube.

To continue with the term "resettle" let me recall the not so distant past. I am not thinking of Hitler-type resettlement programs that involved entire nationalities. For the Hungarians it came to pass that they were expatriated from Czechoslovakia, although the Hungarian occupiers in that country did not stage "cold days" on the model of Ujvidek. Before the end of the war some of our socialist allies expected that the new Yugoslavia would also expatriate the Hungarians. In particular this was urged by the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Tito opposed this, however, and recommended that the Hungarians should remain. Only those criminals expressly compromised by violent crimes during the occupation were expelled. If today someone brings up the "guilt" of the Paris Peace Treaty he must also know that Yugoslavia did not want any kind of resettlement even though the Czechoslovak representatives fought with ours over this matter. And Yugoslavia did not demand boundary changes although we have nationalities living along the border on the other side (an example of this is the Slovenes in the Raba area). Rakosi, the Stalinist tyrant, asked Tito in 1944 not to agree to resettlement because this would damage the influence of the Hungarian Communist Party. It did not bother him, however, at the time Stalinist pressure was weighing on Yugoslavia to try to convince Ambassador Mrazovic in 1948 to save Stalinism by us through the separation of at least Croatia.

It was at the Budapest meeting that the socialist countries called on world opinion to call together the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. The Final Document of the Conference speaks of the inviolability of borders. Undoubtedly, this was also the main goal of the Soviet Union. All the responsible Hungarian statesmen emphasized the expression regarding the inviolability of borders. In addition, official Hungarian policy guarantees to every nationality that it may develop its own nationality consciousness, subordinate, however, to class consciousness.

Nationalism is a dangerous weapon, particularly in the hands of demagogues. This danger exists also in and among socialist states. This has been shown by a number of tragic examples. The nationality majorities and minorities in Hungary's neighboring states have a great and common responsibility for the future of the Danubian area and for the humane, socialist development of the individual states. No less great is the responsibility of present-day Hungary. The idea that boundaries cannot be changed would not in fact solve anything anyway as Kardelj best established by us. But we must work for their clarification to the extent possible. We must take increasingly practical steps not for the utopian division of the Danubian area into cantons but for the most open borders possible in all directions. In any event this is the best cure

for all machinations by the enemies of a truly humanist and socialist development for peace and understanding among the Danubian peoples. We Slovenians have relatives in Italy, Austria and Hungary, three countries with different social systems and a different place in international politics. I do not think it is a solution either for the nationalities living among us or for the Slovenians living beyond the borders to maintain their native language and folklore at a primitive level, but rather we must assure for them the possibility of complex development in the system and society of the majority. Speaking specifically of the Slovenians in Hungary, I must emphasize that the official attitude toward our nationalities guarantees their basic rights. We have succeeded in achieving many goals in the field of education and training. But the past has been very difficult, particularly in the Rakosi period which carried out the pressure of the Information Office. Many instructions must be realized in the councils and the villages. In order that they might participate in community and political life, the Slovenians need Slovenian-speaking teachers and also intellectuals working in industry and agriculture. One of the official researchers in nationality questions is Dr Rudolf Joov, the author of a series of scientific treatises on nationality relations, among other things on the causes and characteristics of ethnic conflicts. On the occasion of my visit at the Hungarian Ministry of Culture I met with Dr Joov, who was accompanied by the head of the nationality department. This was in 1983. Meanwhile, he visited in Slovenia and agreed with the Nationality Institute on a joint research project in Dobronak and Felsőszolnok. This cooperation will help in any event in establishing how well-known principles can be realized by both sides in practice. The entire structure of our constitutional and political system makes it impossible to have any kind of "united nationality statehood" or similar efforts in the republics and the provinces. Thus far this has been affirmed by the Hungarian Government in all official announcements. The joint research being carried out in the two villages may serve for us and the Hungarians as a useful reminder of what still remains to be done.

Interbellum Hungary was inundated by the slogan of the reactionary Horthy government: "No, no, never!" This indicated that they would not resign themselves to the Trianon borders of Hungary. The sad consequences of this required many sacrifices in blood both in the neighboring countries and in Hungary as well. Such slogans need to sound like this: "No, no, never again" to emity, that we will not believe in false slogans and allies. We need to resist jointly everything which threatens actual peace and cooperation in the Danubian area and in Europe. In the Danubian area every responsible factor must lead to an open discussion on the nationality questions, preventing demagogues and chauvinists from taking over these issues.

Finally, an incident I witnessed. In the mid-1960's we were visited by Gyula Kallai, who was then chairman of the parliament, a long-time communist, and one of the founders of the people's front struggling against the Germans and the Hungarian fascists. I was his guide for 2 days in Slovenia. On the winding mountain roads I mentioned to him that "eternal friendship" had been violated in 1941 and that Rakosi had incited against us with false, trumped-up charges. I said that if something like this were to happen again, the relations between the two peoples would not be improved even over three generations. He jumped to his feet--he was small of stature--and shouted: "No, never!" There is nothing better with which to conclude my reflections.

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

AGRICULTURE MINISTER IN BULGARIA--Comrade Evaristo Domingos Kimba, minister of agriculture and member of the MPLA-Labor Party political bureau, has been in Bulgaria since the day before yesterday holding talks with Bulgarian authorities on issues of common interest. The talks are being held at party and government level and center on party cooperation and agriculture in both countries. When Minister Evaristo Domingos Kimba leaves Sofia, he will represent the People's Republic of Angola at a meeting of the Coffee International organization in London. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1000 GMT 10 Apr 85]

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1 May 1985

## BULGARIA

## NATIONAL UNESCO COMMISSION DENOUNCES UNITED STATES

AU121705 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Apr 85 p 2

[BTA Report: "Full Support for the Noble Work of UNESCO"]

[Text] The preparations for the 23d UNESCO General Conference, scheduled to take place in Sofia in the fall of 1985, are playing a leading role in the activities of the National Commission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for UNESCO. This was expressed at yesterday's annual meeting of the commission which was held at the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" Palace of Culture. Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Committee of Culture, and chairman of the organizational committee for the preparations of the UNESCO session, attended the meeting.

Maria Zakhariafa, deputy minister of foreign affairs, chaired the meeting.

The accountability report of the commission, which was read by Eduard Safirov, chief secretary, stressed that the preparations for this great forum are proceeding in an atmosphere of artificial tension provoked by the U.S. administration.

In the front ranks of those countries which have adopted a constructive stand on the organization are the states belonging to the socialist community. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will devote all its efforts so that the forthcoming session of the General Conference will be perfectly organized. A well-organized structure of organs in charge of the total preparations for this important event has been established.

The accountability report pointed out that Bulgaria's broad participation in the implementation of the UNESCO program in the educational sector, in natural as well as social sciences, and in culture is well known. A number of specific examples were cited confirming our country's active participation in such activities.

The participants in the meeting were briefed on the preparations for the 23d General Conference and on certain new developments within UNESCO.

A plan for the work of the commission in 1985 was adopted. A declaration of the National Commission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for UNESCO was unanimously approved. The declaration states that our country has always actively supported the goals of the UNESCO Charter and points out the great role played by this organization in the development of education, science, culture, and arts. UNESCO is greatly contributing to the efforts of mankind in expanding peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation in the intellectual sphere.

In connection with the unfounded accusations of certain member-states of the organization, the declaration points out that the Bulgarian National Commission for UNESCO expresses its deep concern about the situation created within the organization because of the United States' withdrawal, which disrupts the universal character of the organization. The commission declares that it has accorded and is according full support to the efforts of UNESCO and of its secretary general in implementing the principles of the Charter for the sake of peace, security, equal rights, and cultural cooperation among nations.

The declaration points out that the Bulgarian stand was clearly expressed by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, in his letter to the UNESCO secretary general of 8 December 1983 which read as follows: "My country highly appreciates the role played by UNESCO in contemporary international life, as well as the credit earned by this organization in the cause of peace and understanding among the peoples; in the prevention of nuclear disaster; in the rescue of mankind from the evils of colonialism, racism, starvation, and illiteracy; and in the establishment of a fruitful intellectual dialogue in the name of social progress, happiness, and prosperity of mankind."

The United States and some other countries are now primarily protesting against the politicization of the organization, meaning by that, above all, the efforts of UNESCO to establish and maintain relations of peace and understanding among the peoples, the document further stresses.

This politicization of the organization objectively exists and is necessary because it expresses the political will of the member-states collectively to determine the trends of development of UNESCO.

All member-states are called upon to consolidate the unity and universality of the organization for the sake of peace and international cooperation, the declaration states.

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BULGARIA

ARMY OFFICIAL ON COMMUNISTS' LEADERSHIP ROLE

[AU101453 Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 5 April carries on pages 1 and 2 a 2,000-word article by "Maj Gen Petur Iliev, deputy head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army," entitled "The Vanguard Role of the Communists in the Total Improvement of the Quality of Army Work," which deals with the leading role of BCP members in everyday army life and leadership. The article begins with the following introductory passage:

"The training of troops during the winter period ends in April. In accordance with the decision of the Main Political Administration Bureau adopted in May 1984, all party organizations within the Bulgarian People's Army will comprehensively evaluate the vanguard role of the communists. There is no doubt, whatsoever, that these meetings will give a new impetus to the activities, working enthusiasm, initiative, and creative spirit of the communists within the army and of the entire army staff for a worthy preparation of the 13th BCP Congress."

Dwelling on the "vanguard role of communists," Major General Iliev points out as follows: "The vanguard role of the communists has a specific historical context and is objectively determined by the stage of our country's development and by the tasks which the party has to cope with at this given stage. At the present stage of development, the vanguard role of the communists is concentrating on the implementation of the slogan launched by the BCP National Conference: 'High Quality in All Places and in All Things.' In order to implement this lofty goal, great efforts are required, above all, high quality and innovating efforts, in conformity with the present epoch in which we live."

Iliev further describes the tasks of the communists in the army and explains the meaning of quality in the soldiers training and army work. Referring to the role of communists, he stresses the following:

"A communist can play a vanguard role in society only if he develops and reorganizes his thoughts and actions in conformity with the processes and phenomena of our time, in conformity with the great deeds that are being accomplished in our country today. There is even more: "A vanguard position demands from the party member that he be an exponent of advanced and far-sighted ideas; it requires that he achieve breakthroughs and take sensible risks in his efforts devoted to the improvement of the soldiers' work."



Regarding this concept, Iliev explains as follows in this context: "Creative thought and action must resolutely oppose passive attitudes, routines, and cliches to which certain commanders, political workers, and staff specialists are still subjected in planning, organizing, and assessing the results of everyday training."

Iliev further dwells in detail on the "personal example" of BCP members within the army, which according to him, "determines the political atmosphere within the army collective." Iliev stresses the role of "personal examples" in "close, personal contacts" with the soldiers in implementing all tasks of Army life. He adds as follows: "Certain communists, carried away by the power entrusted to them by their service rank, are trying to replace the political approach by ordering others about, as well as by coercive measures in attempting to raise the level of quality in the soldiers' work." Iliev criticizes "party organizations" which "sometimes positively evaluate the role of such communists" pointing out that "only temporary successes" can be achieved with such methods.

Dealing with the educational tasks of army communists and with their ideological assignments, Iliev states as follows: "The communist must defend his vanguard role with real deeds; he must demonstrate a socialist approach in discussing problems through his personal way of life and with his struggle against bourgeois ideology. Through these actions he must inspire all communists, Komsomol members, and non-party people with feelings of patriotism and proletarian internationalism."

Iliev pays particular attention to communists in the higher ranks of the army, describing in detail the virtues and qualities required of them in training and educating the soldiers, as well as in "implementing the party strategy" within the army. He adds as follows: "Some of the military cadres are still slowly reorganizing their way of thinking and their psychological attitudes in critically evaluating the effect of every administrative decision, in pondering the impact of such decisions upon the quality of army work. In many cases their self-evaluation of their own contribution is higher than the actual results in combat and political training."

Once more referring to the decision of the Main Political Administration Bureau of May 1984, Iliev states that a "special method" has been adopted in this connection, aimed at directing the attention of political organs "to the basic criteria of the party, on the basis of which the activities of communists in the army will be evaluated."

In connection with the evaluation of the communists' work within the army, Iliev stresses the following at the end of his article:

"It is necessary that the strength of party strictness be directed above all at those communists who are not fully realizing their opportunities and are failing to manifest the necessary action and initiative for improving army work. The edge of party criticism should be aimed against those communists who are too slowly adapting their style of work to the requirements of the BCP Central Committee February Plenum (1985) dealing with the development and application of scientific-technical progress in the army."

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BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT MEETING WITH CINEMATOGRAPHERS

AU041415 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Apr 85 p 1, 8

[Speech by Todor Shivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 1 April Meeting in Sofia with the Creators of the New Bulgarian Film "Boris I"]

[Text] Comrades: Despite the fact that today is 1 April, the traditional day of jokes, humor, and satire, my invitation for a meeting with the creative collective of the new Bulgarian film "Boris I" is no April Fool's Day joke.

You have created a new work that is strong in its ideological-artistic and professional aspects. I saw the film "Boris I", and I shall not conceal it-- I was moved by the film. I hope that you do not suspect me of being influenced by the decision of the jury of the recent Varna Film Festival, which awarded you the great award of the festival for your film.

Allow me, on my behalf and on behalf of my comrades of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, to most cordially greet the creative collective of the film "Boris I", and along with it, Bulgarian cinematography and the Union of Bulgarian Filmmakers on the success.

Every film is a collective enterprise in which various arts and many people meet.

The success of the film is the success of all its creators. I would like to congratulate People's Artist Borislav Sharaliev, who succeeded in mastering the complex historical material and create a great artistic work. We are familiar with the bright talent of this director and rejoice at his ascending professional development. The share of the Merited Figure of Cultural Anzhel Wagenstein is no smaller. Some of our strongest films on the revolutionary struggles of the BCP and our people are connected with his name. In this film he shows the enviable ability to constructively analyze some of the most dramatic pages of Bulgarian history from the viewpoint of a communist-creator and patriot of our socialist homeland.

We also must bestow deserved recognition on the main cameraman Venets Dimitrov; the artistic-producer, Merited Painter Mariya Ivanova; the creator of the costumes, Docent Nikolay Nikolov; the composer Veselin Nikolov; and all other creators, whose names I cannot list now.

I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the "constellation" of actors. I cannot, for instance, ignore the performance of people's artists Stefan Danailov and Kosta Tsonev; Merited Artist Boris Lukanov; Antoni Genov; Merited Artist Ventseslav Kisyov; Aneta Petrovska; Yanina Kasheva; Plamen Donchev; Stoyan Stoev; and many others.

Comrades, perhaps the film "Boris I" also has weaknesses, which, I hope, will be carefully and objectively evaluated by the specialists. I would like only to express some of my personal thoughts on its basic ideological content and its significance for the modern spectator.

In connection with the marking of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, our cinematography conceived and created many films devoted to distant and more recent Bulgarian history. They have an important role in strengthening patriotism and self-esteem because of the fact that "we too have given something to the world." We do not approach history as an end in itself but from modern class-party positions, so that we can extract from history not the ashes but the flame and the lessons which are necessary today. We use the valuable elements of our history in order to educate generations in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism and respect toward everything sacred created by human genius. The deeds of some great Bulgarian statesmen have become pivotal elements in some films in order to show the strong roots and power of the popular masses in history, and the great popular movements, led by great personalities. Using a great sense of responsibility, these films conquer the spectators and transform them into coparticipants in the glorious traditions of our people and sympathizers with its most noted personalities, create in them a correct viewpoint of history and the present, and prepare them for correctly understanding today's innovative deeds in socialist construction.

Such a film is "Boris I". Personal and the people's dramas are mixed in it. It outlines the greatness of an unusually farsighted statesman, who in those ancient times clearly understood what the power of the people's monolithism is. Therefore, the Christianization of the Bulgarian people and the creation of the Bulgarian alphabet on the basis of the spoken language are connected with the name of Boris I and his revolutionary and deeply democratic deeds. Boris I crowned his life with broad literary activity. He introduced the Slavonic-Bulgarian alphabet, created remarkable library schools such as those in Preslav and Ohrid, and built regular schools.

As you know, in a few days we mark the 1,100th anniversary of the death of the first Slavonic teacher, Methodius, the closest collaborator of his great brother, the philosopher Cyril Constantine. Talented organizer and remarkable man of letters, Metodi took active part in creating the Slavonic alphabet and the translation of the church literature of that time into the Slavonic language.

Until his last day he tirelessly and selflessly worked and struggled for the right of every people to read, write, and create in its own language. The cause of Kiril and Methodius asserted and consolidated itself because it corresponded with the objective needs of history and because it became a state cause. It is an indisputable fact that precisely the Bulgarian state saved and developed this cause.

The remarkable anniversary of Methodius will be marked most festively in Bulgaria and many other countries because the cause of the two brothers has a universal character. Rendering deserved credit to them and their pupils, we also recall all those of our forefathers, because of whom the epochal cause of Cyril and Methodius was saved, prevailed, and continues to live.

I stress all this because your creative collective has not only successfully solved an artistic task, but also created a work of bright political and modern content.

Comrades, after these words of praise for "Boris I" and its creators, somebody can rebuke me that I speak ahead of the film critics. Please understand me correctly: I do not deprive the specialists of their words. I allowed myself to say all this because I wanted to point out how far Bulgarian socialist cinematography has developed. It has a solid, creative potential and is already capable of solving large-scale tasks posed by our party in front of our entire cultural life. Sometimes I even wonder how our cinematography succeeds in creating large-scale and complex works with the rather obsolete material-technological basis of filmmaking. Obviously, measures are necessary in this area, and I hope that the competent state organs will deal with this issue.

I allow another rebuke directed at myself. Is not there a contradiction between my evaluation of an historical film such as "Boris I" and my words at the recent Varna Film Festival on the need to stress contemporary themes in our art? No, there is no contradiction. This is so because a valuable work on historical themes can be more contemporary than a film that at first sight seems contemporary but whose creators have scratched insignificant subjects or have dug in the "backyard" of life. On the other hand, the creation of a historical film does not cancel or diminish our basic task and care--to create our socialist presence correctly and brightly, and with communist fervor and high professionalism.

I would like to assure you that the BCP will further render comprehensive assistance in developing Bulgarian socialist cinematography.

Allow me, dear Comrades, to congratulate you once again upon the successes of the film "Boris I" and wish the film success among the spectators!

CSO: 2200/135

1 May 1985

## BULGARIA

## BCP DAILY EDITORIALIZES ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

AU122038 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Apr 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Vigorous, Ideological Work"]

[Text] In the construction of a mature socialist society, it is not only necessary to develop its material-technical base, but it is also necessary to devote constant efforts to the communist education of the working people and of youth, in particular. The socialist state is strong in its citizens' awareness and in their ideological conviction, which is the basis of their lofty social energy, and represents an ever increasing, effective factor in coping with the great and difficult tasks of socialist construction.

It is not accidental that imperialism spares no energies and means in its efforts to influence the mind and feelings of people in socialist countries. Blinded by its class hatred of real socialism, imperialism is organizing genuine information-propaganda intervention and is waging "psychological war" which has assumed the rank of state policy. This war has been waged with particular intensity in recent years against our country, which imperialism is accusing of organizing "international terrorism," of drug trafficking, and so forth. Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed as follows in this context: "The international situation demands that we resolutely increase our vigilance and combat capacity as regards bourgeois ideological diversion. An unprecedented psychological war on mass scale has been waged against the socialist countries, and in particular, against our own country in recent years. American imperialists have overtly announced their "crusade" against the Soviet Union, against the socialist community, and against "communist ideas."

Under these circumstances expansion of our counter-propaganda is assuming great importance. Today we must even more actively than ever unmask the militarist policy of the United States and NATO, the antihumanitarian essence of the ideology and policy of contemporary imperialism. Our counter-propaganda has the task of the timely and convincingly unmasking of disinformation and slander specialists who are doing everything within their power to discredit the political system of socialism and to encourage anti-socialist ideas and moods among working people.

Denial alone is not sufficient. It is necessary to propagate more varied and more complete information on the historical achievements of socialism, on its basic values--such as collectivism, comradely mutual assistance, true

people's power, humanitarianism, as well as the peaceloving nature of our system, and the new kind of relations existing among states of the socialist community. Against the background of the essential factors demonstrating the basic characteristic features of capitalism as a social system--such as exploitation of the individual, unemployment, poverty, criminality, drug addiction, moral degradation of the human being, and others--the assets of the socialist system arouse feelings of legitimate pride about the successes of real socialism and the desire to even more actively engage in useful activities to the people's benefit.

Nevertheless, we frequently come across considerable shortcomings in the field of counter-propaganda. Counter-propaganda activities are not always based on sufficiently sound arguments; lectures and talks are not always expressive, the problems about which people are treated in superficial manner, and sometimes there is a lack of skill in conducting polemics. Such shortcomings also sometimes imply the failure to give timely answers to "difficult questions" which are troubling the people.

Counter-propaganda must be competently and sensibly conducted. It must be accurately directed against attempts of the bourgeois propaganda to exert influence upon certain individual groups in our country with the aim of neutralizing this influence. Serious and thorough analysis and synthesis is required in this work. The ability to submit alternative considerations to the people is necessary, we must submit convincing proofs to them and point out the perfidious intentions of imperialism. The desired effect of counter-propaganda activity is feasible only on condition that we be very well acquainted with public opinion and with the mood of the population, as well as with questions which are troubling people, that we know to what extent arguments submitted to people will be accepted by them.

At the same time counter-propaganda must be dynamic and vigorous. "It is the immediate task of our ideological front, and of all us, the communists, not to defend ourselves but, with the strength of communist truth and conviction with communist optimism, to counterattack bourgeois ideals, views, and theories by opposing them with our own views, our opinions, and ideas on contemporary social development, with the historical achievements of real socialist in building up a new kind of civilization," Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

Our party, particularly since the historical April plenum (held in 1956), is conducting a political line of frank dialogue with the working people. Their constant information about topical political and social tasks of our development is an essential prerequisite for involving people even more actively in participation in social life. This unshakable unity and mutual trust between party and people is consolidating the lofty consciousness of the working people, their political maturity and wisdom.

Counter-propaganda is called upon to assist our contemporaries in even better orienting themselves as regards opinions and evaluations reaching them from different sources of information. It must help them to look beneath the surface at the real essence of things. Our counter-propaganda is educating people in feelings of devotion and loyalty to the cause of communism, in a spirit of irreconcilability as regards bourgeois ideology and its myths.

The struggle on the ideological front has never tolerated and will not tolerate any compromise. Imperialism will not stop its efforts to persist in "ideological war" against the socialist community. This is, precisely, why our attention to counter-propaganda work should not slacken even for a moment. This work is one of the most significant factors in shaping and developing our society's ideological-political cohesion today; it is one of the most important factors for the communist education of the individual.

CSO: 2200/135

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ARMY SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS CONFERENCE--As known, the BCP Central Committee February Plenum developed the strategic tasks on implementing the scientific-technological revolution in Bulgaria. This also fully applies to the Bulgarian People's Army. On 3 April at Sofia's Central Army Club, an all-Army Conference took place under the slogan "To Decisively Improve the Style of Work of the Military Cadres in Developing and Introducing the Achievements of the Scientific-Technological Progress in the Bulgarian People's Army." The conference was attended by Col Gen Boris Todorov, deputy minister of National Defense; Lt Gen Ivan Bosev, first deputy head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; Pencho Sirakov, secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee; and generals, admirals, and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. The conference was opened and chaired by Lt Gen Ivan Bosev. Col Gen Boris Todorov read the report of the Central Council on Technological and Scientific Creativity in the Bulgarian People's Army, entitled "For a Creative Approach in the Work of the Councils on Scientific and Technological Creativity of Youth, the Technological-Economic Councils, and the Komsomol Leaderships in Increasing the Youth's Share in Developing and Scientific-Technological Progress and Applying Its Achievements in the Bulgarian People's Army." [Excerpt] [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Apr 85 p 1]

BONEV RECEIVES MONGOLIAN OFFICIAL--On 1 April Stanish Bonev, candidate of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Committee, received Badamtsedengiyn Tsend-Ayush [spelling as published], deputy chairman of the Mongolian State Planning Commission. Matters pertaining to coordinating the two countries' national plans for the period of 1986-1990 were discussed. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Apr 85 p 6]

SFRY SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION--Sofia, 4 April (BTA)--A delegation of the Union of the Engineers and Technicians in Yugoslavia, led by Eng. Jon Srobovan, chairman of the Presidency of the Union and member of the Union Executive Council of Yugoslavia, was on a visit to this country on 1-4 April at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Techno-Scientific Unions. The talks with a delegation of the Techno-Scientific Unions, led by Corr. member, Prof Ivan Popov, discussed the cooperation between the two organizations in the 1983-1984 period in the fields of geodesy, chemistry, transport, protection of materials and the water economy. The two delegations outlined the spheres of cooperation for the period up to 1988 related to robotization, micro-processor equipment, biotechnologies and new materials and technologies.



1 May 1985

A working group of the Union of the Engineers and Technicians of Yugoslavia will visit Sofia in the end of 1985 to concretize the cooperation in these spheres. The talks stressed the necessity for widening and deepening cooperation between the regional and district branches of the two organizations. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1308 GMT 4 Apr 85]

AMBASSADORS VISIT VARNA OKRUG--A group of foreign ambassadors accredited in Sofia visited Varna Okrug yesterday and today. At a meeting with Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, they were briefed on the present successes and history of the Okrug. In his statement Strakhil Khristov pointed out that the achievements of the okrug in socialist development would be unthinkable without the enthusiastic efforts of all people in this area, without the moral-political unity and cohesion of the United Bulgarian Socialist Nation, without their love of their native land, and without their feeling of national pride. In Suvorovo, one of the youngest towns of the okrug, the diplomats were cordially greeted by the leaders of the conurbation system. In the "Nikola Yonkov Vaptsarov" secondary polytechnical school, the guests inspected an exhibition of children's paintings devoted to the International "Banner of Peace" Assembly. The guests were briefed on the splendid facilities for education, especially in mastering computer work. The ambassadors also visited a local kindergarten where they manifested great interest in the conditions under which the youngest citizens of Suvorovo are growing up. The foreign ambassadors were accompanied by Ivan Ganev and by Lyubomir Popov, deputy ministers of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 11 Apr 85]

FINANCE MINISTER IN BULGARIA--Rui Baltazar, Mozambican finance minister, met Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, in Sofia yesterday. The two officials analyzed different issues relating to broadening and strengthening economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the two countries. Finance Minister Rui Baltazar is in Bulgaria on a private visit. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Apr 85]

BULGARIAN-SWISS COOPERATION--Sofia, 27 March (BTA)--The Joint Bulgaro-Swiss Economic Chamber is merely 1-year old, but already 150 companies of both countries are its members, including 110 Swiss firms. The bilateral economic panel held a session today to discuss some concrete initiatives for the further promotion of cooperation between the interested firms of Bulgaria and Switzerland in various economic branches. The business executives discussed the participation of Swiss firms at this years Plovdiv Fairs: The spring one (for consumer goods) and the autumn one (for technical gear). Another question under consideration was the days of Bulgaria in Switzerland, due this autumn in Zurich. During these days the business interests in the country will get a chance to familiarize themselves in detail with Bulgaria's economic and trading capacities. The members of the Chamber have undertaken ambitious tasks in the field of the commercial exchange which reached 450 million dollars last year. They give special attention to the new forms of cooperation, including the establishment of joint ventures, the joint entry in third countries markets, cooperation in the building of small and medium-sized enterprises and joint industrial production. Companies become members of the Chamber on a voluntary basis. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1221 GMT 27 Mar 85]

1 May 1985

BULGARIAN-DPRK FOREIGN MINISTRIES--Sofia, 27 March (BTA)--Consultations with a delegation of the "Press" Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK were held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The consultations discussed the possibilities for broadening the cooperation between the "Press" Departments of the two ministries. The Korean delegation was received by Mr Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs. Today it departed from this country. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1716 GMT 27 Mar 85]

CSO: 2200/135

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BOLD R&D COMMITMENT DEMANDED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Academician Bohumil Kvasil, chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Progress Demands Courage"]

[Excerpts] At first glance it is obvious that there can be no question regarding the improvement in quality of scientific and technical development under conditions existing within Czechoslovak society in the 1980's. The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emphasized the inevitability of speedier application of the results of science and technology with unprecedented urgency. Goals of historic significance are at stake: to base social development effectively on a scientific basis and to consider the scientific-technical potential as a permanent and constantly more substantial source of progress of our socialist society. While there is no doubt regarding this basic question, another situation arises the moment we begin to occupy ourselves with concrete facts. We immediately find ourselves in a lively and frequently very concrete discussion in which even completely contradictory views are applied. Its most general characteristic is the dissatisfaction with the status attained, the effort to uncover and remove obstacles in the way of scientific-technical development at all levels of management and production.

We see the greatest problems generally in organizational barriers, in incorrect decisionmaking and managing, in traditionalism, in inadequate legal standards, in inadequate qualifications, etc. There are plenty of suggestions for improvement and, for the most part, things are such that in each of them there is a piece of the truth. And, despite this, there exist many serious problems involving the chronic economizing which accompanies our scientific-technical development, to which we only pay a little attention and then only in a marginal way.

Deep and substantial errors are concealed in some views regarding the possibilities of effectively managing scientific and technical development. It is certainly correct to demand that instruments and methods which, although they simplify the work of directing organs, in practice actually act as a brake on development should disappear from the planning mechanism. It is similarly correct to also demand that activities stimulating creative initiative, courage to take on actual demanding tasks, which evaluate outstanding results, should be more prominent. Despite this, it is inescapable to more effectively

apply the view that progress without risk cannot be assured. In the meantime, we pay a heavy tax for the fact that we attempt to reduce the magnitude of risk and uncertainty inherent in many innovative ideas to an intolerably low degree. We thus lose time and the result is that the contribution, even that of very promising innovations, ends up being relatively small or, in actual fact, nonexistent. No one in the world will wait until we have that precise degree of certainty.... Thus far, we have not learned to respect the fact that under contemporary conditions of rapid development of science and technology, time is the absolutely most important expenditure component.

The concept of an "extensive approach" is closely connected with that about which we speak--the persistence of thinking. It is an incredibly serious social phenomenon which cannot be underestimated. It has its psychological side but that still does not mean that we are dealing with some kind of "subjective" barrier whose removal is a matter of changing the views of a necessary number of deciding individuals. The persistence of thinking has its historic routes which come into play in the system of directing, planning and evaluating the work. It comes into play also with regard to conceptions as to what are social truths which a socialist society is obligated to grant not only to every individual but also to the working collective, to the enterprise, etc. In this direction we have accomplished a lot. But we could do more as we could state with regard to those who, because of their good and outstanding results, constantly have to pay for the intolerably weak results of others. We must solve even this problem if we want to have more working collectives supporting the risks of scientific-technical development.

The experiences of our basic research in collaboration with practice, at least those which we have attained during the elapsed years of the 7th Five-Year Plan, fully confirm a well-known fact: if the existingly valid system of management has any kind of basic disadvantage then it does not have one which would render scientific-technical development impossible but--on a scale which is still not tolerable--facilitates its nonutilization. An essential and happy factor is that the effort to plug science into the solving of large innovative projects has increased at an unusual pace. This is a bilateral effort which found its expression, for example, even in the fact that currently the CSAV has contracts regarding collaboration with more than 20 industries and with roughly the same number of economic production units. While nobody would be able to consider these as a formal legal act which has yet to be fulfilled with concrete contents, happily, it is so. For us, these contracts are, in addition to a more rapid integration of results into practice, a possibility for a more realistic composition of the state plan for basic research (in harmony with the requirement to make it more closely related with national economic practice). On the other side, the economic sector can sharpen up its ideas regarding development of more concrete specialties and, to a certain extent, harmonize them with the possibilities of our research base. Concrete results exist. It is difficult to select from among them, not only because scientific results from the standpoint of science are something else in comparison to the results from the economic unit level. Despite this, I would like to remind the readers of our successful collaboration with the Skoda enterprise in Plzen, with the CKD enterprise in Prague, with the VHJ Spofa enterprise, with the fuels and energy industry, with the new paper combine at

Paskove regarding the industrial production of fodder albumins, the wide scale of tasks contributing to the development of practical microelectronics and the utilization of automatic data processing, biotechnology and modern methods of combating agricultural pests, research connected with the development of health care for people and the environment.

Unfortunately, we have thus far not established an acceptable method of expressing the share of basic research in scientific-technical development and its economic contribution in value categories. Had we done so, we would have at hand a good instrument for better recognition of developments of the relationship between social practice and science and its capability of relying on it. If the results of scientific work were not able to be tied to practice for nothing (or almost free) as is the case thus far, it is not out of the question that we would know more rapidly and would be able to more effectively evaluate areas where we continue to strive for attention in vain. I permit myself to express a mild optimism with respect to the fact that the relationship between the economic sector and science is changing slowly but surely. There is an increase in the number of those with initiative, perception and responsibility who find science to be the only correct path; they who actively analyze results--and do not permit themselves to be sidetracked by obstacles which normally accompany the utilization of scientific results.

Despite a number of experiences and facts, which are characterized positively, which we have, together with our collaborators in the economic sector, gained particularly where collectives which have been sustained by the enthusiasm of only being able to solve significant and difficult tasks, there are also other cases. There are cases of misunderstanding of basic and fundamental considerations. I do not wish to contend that poor results exist only where scientific-technical progress is not respected. Purely ordinary uneconomical conduct, inadequate use of working time, sloppy organization of production, etc., cost us a lot. Even this is connected with the problem of utilization of scientific-technical development. Apart from the illusion of the possible non-risk utilization of the innovation process, an erroneous concept is widespread in our country, namely that scientific-technical development will prove able to solve problems connected with a lack of cultural work, with a low degree of development of organization and management, with gaps in qualifications of workers. Sometimes, although only on an exceptional basis, this is indeed possible; however, for the most part, at the cost of intolerable losses and the cruel recognition of shortcomings which are chronically neglected.

A completely separate chapter with respect to problems connected with our scientific-technical development is represented by questions of our interconnection with the international division of labor. On the one hand, there is the hard and completely obvious requirement to concentrate on decisive tasks, which was stressed at the 16th CPCZ Congress and at the 8th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and which is valid not only for science and research but for the national economy as a whole. On the other hand, there is the fact that the fulfillment of this requirement is perhaps one of the most difficult tasks which we need to solve. The production assortment of industry, and basically of the entire national economic complex of the CSSR, is extremely broad. This is logically reflected in the extremely broad scale of

requirements served on research and development. The practical result is the fact that, under our conditions, a comparably smaller number of specialists are engaged in even basic tasks of scientific and technical research than is the case in other countries. This status is supported also by an otherwise positive effort of promoting only the most unavoidable imports, of increasing our self-sufficiency in key sectors and by our efforts to know how to face the policy of the embargo through which the leading imperialist powers are attempting to break socialism. Even if no other problems existed, the very fact that there is a tendency to greatly scatter research capacity among an immensely extensive spectrum of tasks could cause serious difficulties in our scientific-technical development. This leads to the contention that an effort to concentrate capacities is one of the most significant areas which must be energetically pursued by decisions of directing organs, particularly in conjunction with our obligations within the framework of the international division of labor with respect to science. What is important is for us to know the long-range trend, despite any actual problems. And this lies in the fact that, in cooperating with fraternal countries, we shall master even the most difficult tasks.

Despite the fact that the program of basic research and overall scientific research activity continues to be immensely extensive, we can, by concentrating on the most decisive factors, accomplish much. It is unavoidable that a goal-oriented program approach be applied more effectively so that the scientific-technical potential can be even more intensively oriented toward those tasks which have a direct connection with the realization of decisive directions of development as outlined in the 8th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Workers in science and technology can definitely contribute to making scientific and technical development an axis--a virtual spine--of national economic and social progress.

It is obvious that the tasks of scientific and technical development have reached a level which requires a fundamental change, not only in social conscience but also in the body of social practice. We must give up the erroneous concept that progress can be achieved without a battle and without risk. We must become accustomed to the fact that we live in a changeable, rapidly developing world in which the ignoring of scientific-technical development creates an unacceptable risk of immense losses.

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CSO: 2400/338

1 May 1985

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## TV SATELLITES, DATA BANKS SCORED AS ECONOMIC WEAPONS

## Threatening National Sovereignty

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 18 No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 29 Dec 84)  
p 5

[Article by Dr Willi Paubel and Gerhard Haensel: "New Communications Technology--Use or Abuse?"]

[Text] Hardly any other field of scientific-technical developments has undergone such far-reaching changes in recent years as communications technology and its application. Systems and equipment of telecommunications and mass communications have reached new dimensions, never seen before, through the development of totally new procedures of transmission, storage and restitution. The scientific-technical progress in micro-electronics and the creation of computer systems based on it, as well as actual communications technology, have practically eliminated the former borders between electronic mass media, satellite use and telemetry, and have led to far-reaching consequences in their use. Under the present conditions of the imperialist crusade against socialism and everything progressive, news and information have become a special "raw material of strategic importance" in the world of capital, with whose help technological superiority is to be transformed into political and economic superiority of power. The use of satellites for direct reception of radio and television programs plays a major part in these considerations. As early as 1981, in conjunction with direct satellite transmission of television, the Committee on Government Actions of the U.S. Congress established the goal of the U.S. President being enabled to speak to other nations "direct, live and in color." And in fact, a single satellite, operating at an altitude of 36,000 km, manages to provide radio and television signals to one-third of the earth's surface, while with distribution systems used up to now, thousands of transmitters were needed. Direct transmission of television programs via satellite to millions of television sets in various countries can easily undermine the sovereignty even of technically advanced nations over their own national information system.

Communications satellites play as important a part in the transborder data flow, which feeds with growing intensity the data banks of the data flow of transnational giants such as Lockheed, Exxon, or IBM. Studying the effects of the data flow of transnational monopolies in Brazil, a UN report comes to

the conclusion that it is this international data traffic which thus creates new areas of international tensions: The already existing inequality in international trade relations gets bigger, and the international division of labor deepens further to the detriment of the developing countries, by additionally limiting their competitiveness. Implementation of the national goals of developing countries is made more difficult, since the possession of information has become a question of power. It suffices to point out here that, even according to Western publications, the information potential of the United States consists of, among other things, more than 800 communications satellites and about 90 percent of the facts and figures stored in the data banks of Western countries. These numbers are not at all surprising, for the international data market is organized more monopolistically than any other branch of industry and, according to the estimates of serious media researchers, surpasses everything that the large Western news agencies taken together have ever achieved.

It is natural that the developing countries, and not only they, offer resistance to this communications imperialism based on satellites. Since its 4th summit meeting in Algeria in 1973, the movement of non-aligned states has adopted the important task of overcoming their members' dependence in the field of information and communications. One only has to point to the fact that, according to UNESCO data, these countries with more than 80 percent of the world's population only dispose over 10 percent of the world's media potential. But because of the use of the very latest know-how in this field by transnational media and electronics corporations of the imperialist states for maximizing profits and for maintaining their political, economic and ideological hegemony, new and additional conditions of dependence are being created.

Because of the close interlocking of these corporations with the military-industrial complex of their countries, and their inclusion in armaments production, the necessary enforcement of international norms and principles in the field of information and communications has become a major point on the agenda. According to the demands of the 1984 Information Conference of Non-Aligned States in Djakarta, this increasingly more important area of international relations concerns:

--recognition of the basic principles of international law, particularly the peoples' rights of self-determination, sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states;

--every nation's right to the development of its own independent information system and the protection of its national sovereignty and cultural identity through control of the activities of transnational corporations;

--the right of all peoples to mutually balanced, accurate and comprehensive information, as well as the necessity of working for the reduction of international tensions and permanent peace through the means of information and communications.



1 May 1985

The socialist states, together with the developing countries, champion in the United Nations and UNESCO the formation of international information and communications relations which will serve the interests of all nations. This work is closely linked to the struggle for an end to the arms race and for disarmament as the central problems of our time. Naturally, it is of decisive importance to create a climate between nations and peoples which excludes the exploitation of technological advantages in the field of information and communications against others. For this reason, restructuring of international information relations cannot simply be limited to the demand for their decolonialization. For as long as the psychological warfare against the socialist states continues and is even broadened, it will be impossible to stop the imperialist information expansion in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Thus there is only one alternative to the technologically highly equipped information imperialism, and that is to create for worldwide communications relations a basis in international law which ensures the development of independent national structures and the equal right of participation of all states in the international exchange of information.

#### FRG Commentary

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 23 Feb 85 p 31

[Article by Reiner Roebbing: "Ideological Barriers Aren't the Only Ones Tottering--Fear of the Free Flow of Information Moves the GDR Leadership to Campaign Against Satellite Television"]

[Text] In view of international information dissemination via satellite and reporting and commentaries across borders, the SED press fears for the ideological barriers it had erected so "laboriously." The technological lag in microelectronics in the GDR makes Pankow loudly voice its demand "to create a basis in international law" for "the development of independent national structures." The semi-official GDR magazine HORIZONT, which "is close" to the Foreign Ministry, calls for a guarantee of "the equal right" of participation of all states in the international exchange of information.

In the first issue of this year, it spoke openly of a "crusade against socialism." In a photo montage, a U.S. satellite was transformed into an "anticommunist" machine pistol threatening socialism from space. Western news are seen in East Berlin as a resource of strategic importance, for which thousands of transmitters are needed to "undermine" the sovereignty of progressive states. There is no doubt about it: for the government of the GDR, the possession of information has become a question of power. The restructuring of international information relations must not be limited to decolonization. In the opinion of the SED, Africa, Asia and Latin America are "threatened" by Western psychological warfare which is constantly increasing. The shortwave propaganda campaign of Radio Moscow and Radio Berlin International is not mentioned, however.

Yet the attack by the East Berlin foreign policy "prestige paper" is not very new. Already in the middle of last year, it criticized the "media monopolies" of the West. A paraboloid antenna for satellite TV carried a "Wall Street Journal" imprint on the concave side. From AP (Associated Press) to NBC and 20th Century-Fox, one tried to unmask the "propaganda apparatus of imperialism."

East Berlin's fear of the "free flow of information" is so great that the scientific journals of the journalism department of the Karl-Marx-University of Leipzig ("Theorie und Praxis des sozialistischen Journalismus 3/84") [Theory and Practice of Socialist Journalism] spoke of an "arrogant and unsuitable" claim by the United States. By virtue of the supreme power stemming from its sovereignty, the GDR state is responsible for its own territory, including matters of information.

At the beginning of the year, the HANDELSBLATT wrote: "When SAT 1 beams over ECS-1, APF is also there. The GDR, normally not squeamish when it comes to abbreviations which are hardly understood in the West, seems to be practically trembling before the expected 'flood' of public, private and corporate television, the 'East-West-beam' of the satellite."

When traveling to the GDR, searching car trunks for Western newspapers may become superfluous in the future--at least, if skillful GDR radio hams start to build copies of Western receiver equipment. Then it no longer matters whether the satellite is received via a paraboloid antenna which was made from Grandma's old "salad bowl." At least one technical hacker in Salzgitter managed to get Soviet television from Moscow on his local TV set via the Soviet satellite "Horizon". He built himself a parabolic mirror with a diameter of 1.20 meters out of "radio scrap."

When the SED recently issued a proclamation on the occasion of the "40th anniversary of the liberation," once again the full regimentation of the GDR press became visible. The "agitation department" of the SED Central Committee prescribed for all newspapers of all parties and mass organizations both placement and layout, including the headline and subtitles, down to the very smallest detail.

9917

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JURIST CRITICIZES FRG 'REVANCHISM', CITIZENSHIP CLAIMS

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 39 No 9, 3 Mar 85 p 8

[Article by Dr Gregor Schirmer, deputy head of the sciences division in the SED Central Committee: "Dangerous Dealings With Law, Reason and Peace"]

[Text] The great speech by comrade Erich Honecker before the first secretaries of the SED district managements was one sole avowal of reason and peace in international relations in general, and in the relationship between the GDR and the FRG in particular. While reading it, one asks oneself who could actually oppose "opening up the road to a better world, taking into account the interests of mankind, through a realistic approach to a solution of the most important question of the present time?" And yet there are forces who evidently do not want that. This is demonstrated by the macabre play being acted out at present by extreme rightist Bonn politicians. It concerns the dangerous, revanchist heresy that one practically has a "legal claim" to a capitalist Germany within the borders of 1937, and that this claim could be realized at some time. Actually, this play dates from the time of Adenauer and, one should think, had definitely flopped when the two German states concluded the basic agreement, were admitted to the United Nations, and signed the Final Act of Helsinki. German imperialism has had much practice in presenting revanchist demands as "one's due." It was that way after World War I, when the "shame of Versailles" was to be erased. After World War II, revanchism was written into one's own Basic Law as a kind of "self-obligation." Unmasked, one made the arrogant claim of "having acted for all Germans" with the separatist act of founding the FRG and recommended that "the other party of Germany" join the FRG; one simply declared anyone who formerly possessed German citizenship as "Germans in the meaning of the Basic Law," including everyone who "as a refugee or expellee of German nationality, or as a spouse or descendant has been given admittance in the territory of the German Reich as it existed on 31 December 1937." Thus, it can be read in the preamble and in Articles 23 and 116 of the FRG Basic Law. I bring this up not because I enjoy autopsies of juridical corpses, but because these arrogant claims of 1949, clad in judicial findings of fact, are still being introduced 35 years later in order to "legitimize" unrealistic and internationally illegal intents.

There is the claim that the German Reich, founded by Bismarck in 1871, continues to exist legally, and is only not fully capable to act. One cannot dismiss this thesis as fantasy, since it forms the background for the claim

of the citizens of the FRG to be "German nationals," for questioning the finality and legality of the Oder-Neisse border, and for contesting the internationally legal character of the border between the two German states.

What is the situation?

The fascist German Reich committed the greatest crime against mankind and world peace with the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and with the war of aggression of 1939 to 1945, which started with the insidious invasion of Poland and culminated with the treacherous attack on the Soviet Union. This had consequences for that Reich and the gang of criminals at its head. Because of the heroic and sacrificial fight of the Soviet Union and its allies, the Fascist beast was driven back into its lair and forced into unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945. Thereby the German Reich was destroyed, in fact and in law. There no longer was any state authority or power structure. They had been crushed. In accordance with Germany's responsibility under international law for the crime of the war of aggression, the major powers of the anti-Hitler coalition agreed to conclusions legally binding on Germany, through which this crime was to be atoned, and which were to prevent a war ever again being started from German soil. Accordingly, former East Prussia fell to the Soviet Union and Poland and the western border of Poland was set at the Oder and Neisse rivers.

Czechoslovakia was recognized as a sovereign state, and Austria's independence and autonomy was reinstated.

On the remaining German territory a new anti-fascist and democratic German state was to be built up according to the treaty of Potsdam and other agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition. This was the chance for the German people as a whole. Why it was not used in West Germany, but utilized by us, is a different chapter which cannot be pursued here. In retrospect, even for those who contest the decline of the German Reich in 1945, it so happens that this Reich ceased to exist at the latest with the founding of the FRG and the GDR and their development into sovereign states. To sum up: today, there exist two sovereign German states on the territory of the former German Reich, the legal successors of this German Reich--which was destroyed, fortunately for the nations--, who represent two orders of society that do not intermingle, i.e., socialism and capitalism, and who belong to two opposing alliance systems, the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

So why the claim that there are "special legal relationships" between the FRG and the GDR which are not subject to international law? It is the same old arrogance which claims that the GDR is nothing but a would-be Federal state with borders such as those between Bavaria and Hesse, and with citizens who by right are subject to the authorities of the 1<sup>st</sup>3. It contradicts all principles of international law which is binding on all states, the multilateral agreements of which both the GDR and the FRG are a part, especially the Charter of the United Nations, and the bilateral agreements which both German states concluded, particularly the Basic Treaty. All these comprehensive regulations are based on the assumption that the GDR and the FRG are sovereign states vis-a-vis each other and any third party, as are other states

in this world. No letter, no Bundestag resolution, no home-made "law" can change any of that. What is legally binding is the text of the agreed-upon forms, the text of the signed treaties, not their unilateral interpretation by institutions of the FRG. Relations between the GDR and the FRG are international relations regulated by international law, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Directly and inseparably linked with the existence of sovereign states, totally independent of the good or bad will of other states, is their territorial sovereignty and ultimate jurisdiction over people. It is part of the nature of a state that it has its own territory and population over which other states have no rights. International law obligates all states to respect the territorial and juridical sovereignty of every state, and that means: respecting the inviolability of the state's territory and borders, respecting the nationality of the other state, treatment of the citizens of this state according to the rules of international law. Everyone understands that normal, good-neighborly relations--as stipulated in Article 1 of the Basic Treaty--are almost impossible if one neighbor claims for himself the total population of the other and wants to subject it to his own "custody," and questions the other's borders and thus its existence as a sovereign state--either overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly--; in recent times, very overtly and directly. Comrade Erich Honecker commented that all this fits more into the panorama of war than of peace. This is not done away with by the assertion that one only wants to change things "peacefully."

It is a standard phrase of Bonn policy that "it remains our task to work toward a condition of peace in Europe in which the German people regains its unity in free self-determination." That is a highly dangerous phrase, for at least three reasons. First of all, it does appear to mean that the self-determination of the people of the GDR, which has been a historical fact for almost 40 years, is not being accepted. The Germans in our country have decided for socialism. The process of free self-determination began with us in 1945 with the election of an anti-fascist and democratic order, with the expropriation of war and Nazi criminals, with land reform, with educational reform. Today, it takes place in the formation of a developed socialist society by all citizens. From the historical viewpoint this is the development of a new, socialist German nation which has the same right of self-determination as the old, bourgeois German nation in the FRG. An "all-German" right of self-determination of peoples and nations is no vehicle for the restoration of capitalist conditions under the label "reunification." It cannot and must not be misused as a pretext for aggressive intentions against other states.

Secondly, this does seem to mean that the present "condition of peace in Europe" is to be changed. But in the last 40 years, a peaceful order has developed in Europe as a historic-factual and political-juridical situation which, for the sake of Europe and of mankind, must not be put into question. Part of these political-territorial realities of this European order of peace are the existence of two German states and West Berlin, Poland, neutral Austria, and all other European states with their present borders and their citizens. This is simultaneously an order under international law, consisting

of the agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition; the peace treaties of 1947 with the former allies of Hitler-Germany; the Austrian State Treaty of 1955; the treaties between the Soviet Union, Poland, and the CSSR; the treaties between the GDR and the FRG of the years 1970 to 1973; the 1971 quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin, and the Final Act of Helsinki of the year 1975. What is supposed to be changed there? It is often claimed in the FRG that the final settlement of the consequences of the war are incumbent upon a peace treaty with "Pan-Germany;" until then, everything is "temporarily" agreed upon as a kind of provisional arrangement with the proviso of later solutions to be accepted by this "Pan-Germany," which are possibly quite different. But such a peace treaty will not come about because there will be no such "Pan-Germany," and because no state of the anti-Hitler coalition wants it. And there is also no need for it, because everything which would have to be settled in a peace treaty has meanwhile been settled otherwise in legal and final form.

Thirdly, the question arises what it means in practical political terms to make a "task" of this oh-so-different Europe, which one must "work toward." Since such activism is being proclaimed by leading representatives of a state which likes to consider itself as second in the NATO alliance after the United States; which openly applauds, or silently tolerates, the aggressive plans of the United States; on whose territory first-strike weapons are being deployed, comrade Erich Honecker's question is only too justified: "The public of the world, and we among them, demands to know where this route is supposed to lead."

Our proposal for the travel route: peaceful coexistence, mutually advantageous relations, respect for the sovereignty of the other, observance and implementation of concluded treaties without reservation; renunciation of antiquated, unrealizable but dangerous and internationally illegal claims a la "professional Silesians." No road can bypass this route, and it guarantees attainment of the highest goal to which both German states are committed: no war must ever start again from German soil.

9917

CSO: 2300/316

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TRAINING AT DRESDEN CIVIL DEFENSE SCHOOL DESCRIBED

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 4 No 6, 1984 (signed to press 30 Nov 84) pp 10-11

[Article by Lt Col S. Trautmann: "Ensure a High Level of Effectiveness of Training for Course Participants; 'Dr Kurt Fischer' Bezirk Civil Defense School Honored with the 'Banner of Labor'"]

[Text] Proud of their achievements, the training officers and employers of the "Dr Kurt Fischer" bezirk civil defense school in Dresden--as everywhere in our country--also reported how they realized their goals in the socialist competition in honor of the 35th anniversary of the GDR and how they met the stricter requirements for effectiveness and quality in training their students.

The training of the leadership cadre follows the training programs. It ensures that useful knowledge is transmitted and the technical know-how is developed to enable the cadres to carry out all of their official duties.

The collective of training officers fully realizes that the constant increase in the operational readiness of the formations and elements calls for higher standards in leadership cadre training and, consequently, also for itself. The key to meeting the growing demands for operational readiness of the formations has proven to be an increase in the effectiveness and quality of training by way of intensification, in political indoctrination and in the practical soundness of the training. It is therefore justified in the routine educational and training process to demand such things as:

- Assuring the unity of cultural development and education.
- Creating in the student an awareness of the training process and his active participation in the process.
- Consideration of the level and individual qualities of the students and making use of their intellectual abilities.
- Improving the planning for the training.
- Further improvements of the training facility.
- Improving the graphic, systematic and logical presentation of the training materials.
- Providing for a more efficient training system.
- Furthering the ability of training officers to be educators and trainers.

What did the collective of trainers in our school do to improve the effectiveness and quality of training? Improving the effectiveness and quality of training requires that the political-ideological work with students be conducted even more efficiently. The major focus of political-ideological work in a bezirk school is in the educational and training process. This imposes higher standards for the political-ideological work of each training officer. Each training event must be goal-oriented and politically motivated:

- to strengthen those incentives of all students which decisively affect their ability to carry out their duties in an exemplary manner;
- to create proper discipline at all times and everywhere by using incisive language and setting a good example on the part of training officers, and not merely by demanding it, but also by observing it themselves and by insisting on it;
- to make high but realistic demands on the students and to show them by work and deed that the common interest, the common obligations and responsibilities toward the socialist fatherland, unite us all.

Constant collaboration with the staff of the bezirk's central administration is an important aspect in effectively shaping the educational and training process with these things in mind.

It has proven useful at the beginning of each course to explain the substantive content of the training program to the students and to familiarize them with the organization of the subject and the methodology of the training plan. In this way each student has a good idea of the demands that will be made on him which also motivates him to want to succeed and to learn.

The effectiveness of training can be significantly increased, wherever possible, by multifaceted training. This type of training embodies a number of advantages; we are particularly impressed by the following:

- It saves time.
- The student becomes an efficient trainer.
- The trainees are encouraged to think and act independently.
- There is more practical training that reflects real-life conditions.
- Collective efforts are encouraged, the cohesiveness of the group or squad is cemented and tactically correct operations are rehearsed while completing various tasks.
- Cooperative training exercises can be carried out with groups being trained in other areas.

During the past years, our collective became ever more successful in the practical training of the students by teaching the leadership cadre to function also as trainers. This occurred particularly as a result of meaningful and methodical instructions which enabled the students to help shape the course of the training, to enrich it with their own ideas, to make it more creative, to identify with the training and master its content.



Students are methodically placed in the position

- to explain,
- to demonstrate,
- to practice and
- to correct.

In our school it has also proven effective to form training groups right at the beginning of the course. Within the training facility, training is always done [by having training groups rotate] through stations, which gives each student ample opportunity to participate actively.

In our approach to education and training, we place great emphasis on graphic presentations. If one tried to express the role of graphic presentation as a percentage of reasons for increases in successful teaching, it would--in our experience--amount to about 10 percent; models would account for 20 percent and actual objects (such as the training facility) 40 to 45 percent.

Excellent results have been obtained particularly at our training facility with the approaches and programs described above. The collective of trainers in our educational institution realizes that the matters described cannot fully reflect the problems relating to the struggle for greater effectiveness and quality in education and training.

Receiving the high award of the "Banner of Labor," will spur us on to execute the tasks assigned us for the 1984/85 training year in an exemplary manner as well.

12628

CSO: 2300/312

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED CENSORSHIP FORCES WRITERS' GROUP HEAD TO RESIGN

Paris LIBERATION in French 6 Mar 85 p 25

[Article by Sonia Combe: "GDR--Kant's Nerves Have Given Out/

[Text/ The authorities severely criticize GDR writers for "pessimistic tendencies." The "positive hero" and censorship are on the agenda. The president of the Union of Writers failed in his attempt at an impossible compromise.

Kermann Kant, the president of the Union of GDR Writers, has just resigned from his position apparently because of poor health. It may never happen again, but the official version perhaps corresponds to the facts. His worst enemies acknowledge it: Kant has exhausted his nerves in trying to limit the damage of a cultural policy which is very determined to tighten the reins on the writers' necks.

Return to Censorship

In 1984, the GDR censors went at it in dead earnest. Even the leading literary critic of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (party daily), Rainer Kerndl, saw his play "Der Georgsberg" banned after three performances. Probably because he discussed there the moral decay of GDR society corrupted by the lure of foreign exchange. At the present time where the only way to avoid restrictions on personal consumption is to have marks from the West to patronize "Intershop" stores, that smacked of provocation. "Cassandra," the latest novel of the most famous GDR writer, Christa Wolf, had 60 pages cut out of it. Another noted novelist, Stephan Heym has just been forbidden to publish his book "Schwarzenberg" which provides a utopian view of the German problem. "Schwarzenberg" is a small German state, which is forgotten at the end of the war by the superpowers where the wild dream of the alliance of socialism and democracy would ultimately be realized... Finally the Politburo prohibited the publication of a collection of interviews

conducted by Gabriele Eckart with members of an agricultural cooperative. Selections which had appeared in a literary review had already aroused the leaders' ire. The persons questioned dared to criticize the lack of initiative among the rank and file in the management of agriculture, admitted their frustration from trips abroad and wondered why the "Intershop" stores are so well supplied and the others so poorly. The party was not mistaken about it, all the unrest of GDR society was expressed in these pages.

However, in announcing shortly after his taking over power that literature would be freed from these "taboos" which stifled it, Erich Honecker allowed writers to emancipate themselves from the sacrosanct principles of socialist realism. In the seventies with "The New Tribulations of the Young W.," Ulrich Plenzdorf rejects the conventional "happy ending" of the eastern novel. Just like Werther, the Young W. commits suicide. It is the death of the positive hero. The "pessimistic tendencies" deplored in high places take the literary field by storm and the writers rush into the breach of a cultural policy which is no longer able to enforce its main principles. Women (Irmtraud Morgner, Maxie Wander, Christa Wolf) show that the emancipation of the workers is not really that of the women on the other side of the Wall. Their move, comparable to that of western feminists, does not please the authorities. They will be published all the same and like Amanda of Irmtraud Morgner, the circulation of their novels is exhausted, even before they appear in the publishers' catalogues and in the literary revues. The "nationalized" writers violate the taboos, discuss "unorthodox" subjects and brush up against charges of "decadent" art.

With the Seventh Congress of the Union of Writers in 1978, Kant appears on the scene to take charge again, which he finally will not have either the discrimination, or the means to carry out. However, he had already shown goodwill, particularly in endorsing the purge of the Union of Writers following the expulsion from the GDR of the singer Wolf Bierman in 1976. But Kant wants to be the man of the *modus vivendi* between the state and its intellectuals, the mediator thanks to whom a genuine literature can develop under socialism. With the time for compromise already having passed, he will only manage to make enemies in each camp. The writers' revolution is hard to control. The "kaput types," (defeated types) condemned by the orthodox writer, Nolte, in *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND* are fighting each other, using if necessary, the always vigilant channels of the FRG media, are obviously angry about being judged by people "who do not even know German" or, like Lutz Rathenow, are calling on the authorities to justify their censorship, something never seen in a country of genuine socialism.

## Return of the Positive Hero

Soviet writers declare that in these confused times where the threat of a nuclear war hovers over us, the people need positive heroes. Artistic creation must again find its social usefulness subordinate to the party's ideology and demands. Honecker did not have to be told that twice. On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR, in October 1984, he conveys the warning: The first duty of the writer is the commitment to peace and socialism. It is no longer a question of remaining in the comfortable position of an observer. For the GDR, it is the return to the situation at the beginning of the fifties. It is the return of the positive hero who was relegated somewhat to the background in the years of detente. In any case, the esthetic positions of the GDR leaders have hardly developed since then. One of them happened to say "shoddy is better than avant-garde."

For Honecker, who already has enough problems with the USSR on the question of interGerman relations, it is an opportunity to show he is the first one in the class. There is hardly any disagreement on the subject with the USSR and no reason to warn anymore a GDR literature, which has taken so much liberty that it can barely be distinguished very well anymore from that of the other Germany. It calls to mind the idea of the "national socialist culture," which blooms under socialism and expresses this "obviousness" which must constantly be emphasized: Just as two German states will exist from now on, two German cultures will exist. It is also difficult to get writers as well as their public to concede this in the other Germany. Because this brings foreign exchange to East Berlin, "Cassandra," "Schwarzenberg," and Gabriele Eckart's book have just been published in the FRG. This public is the oxygen bag of the GDR writer, which perhaps will prevent him from floundering in the withdrawal into himself which eastern European censorship forces on its intellectuals, with the notable exception of Hungary.

Kant had thought it was possible to compromise with the principles of socialist realism, forgetting this definition which another victim, Russian this time, of bureaucratic narrow-mindedness, (W. Woinowitch) has just pointed out: "socialist realism, is Shakespere, Rembrandt and Beethoven in the service of the proletariat." His successor, Gerhard Holtz-Baumert, author of children's books, is a member of the central committee of the GDR Communist Party. It is a rigid situation.

8490

CSO: 3519/208

HUNGARY

# INTERIOR MINISTRY PARTY COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 85 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Ministry of Interior"]

[Excerpt] The communists working in the Ministry of the Interior also held their party meeting Saturday. The meeting was attended and addressed by Laszlo Marothy, member of the Political Committee of the MSZMP, Deputy President of the Council of Ministers. Gyorgy Kovacs, the first secretary of the MSZMP's Committee on the Ministry of the Interior, commented on the written report submitted by the [local] party committee.

The representatives elected the 61-member [local] party committee and their representatives to the party congress. The communists of the Ministry of the Interior will send 9 representatives to the MSZMP's XIIIth Congress.

The newly elected party committee held its first meeting, re-electing Gyorgy Kovacs as its first secretary, and Ferenc Benko and Istvan Kotvasz as its secretaries. Ferenc Berkesi, Janos Bogye, Mrs Jeno Huszar, Janos Kamara, Sandor Kiss, Istvan Molnar, Gyorgy Sikloi and Janos Szita became the other members of the executive committee.

12588

CSO: 2500/305

1 May 1985

## HUNGARY

## PEOPLE'S ARMY PARTY COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 85 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Hungarian People's Army"]

[Excerpts] The party congress of communists working in the People's Army was held in the Budapest Culture Center of the People's Army. The two-day conference was attended and addressed by Mihaly Korom, member of the Political Committee of the MSZMP, secretary of the Central Committee. Lajos Czinege, member of the MSZMP's Central Committee and Deputy Prime Minister was also present.

The participants of the conference elected the 67-member party committee of the People's Army and their representatives to the MSZMP congress. The communists of the People's Army will send 33 representatives to the XIIIth Congress of the MSZMP.

During the first meeting of the party committee, Major General Bela Gyorgyi was elected [to be the] first secretary, and Colonel Ferenc Szombathelyi, the secretary of the People's Army party committee. Additional members of the executive committee are: Major General Miklos Daranyi, army commander; Colonel Ferenc Gabor, deputy chief of investment and maintenance for the People's Army; Major General Sandor Kamuti, member of the party committee for an army formation; Major General Barna Kazai, commandant of the Lajos Kossuth Military Academy; Lieutenant General Ferenc Karpati, chief of the main political division for the People's Army and deputy minister; Major General Bela Kerekgyarto, commander of a higher unit; Major General Mihaly Lapos, first deputy to the quartermaster general of the People's Army; Colonel Istvan Matuszka, managing secretary of the Public Servants' Union committee in the People's Army; Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, Chief of Staff of the Hungarian People's Army; Major General Istvan Pompor, chief of the political division of the air and air defense command of the Hungarian People's Army; and Colonel Jozsef Szekeres, unit commander.

The Presidential Council awarded the "Order For A Socialist Hungary" to Major General Dezso Papp, the previous first secretary of the party committee of the People's Army, in recognition of his activities in the workers' movement and his work at the head of his unit for nearly a decade. The award was presented by Mihaly Korom at the close of the party conference.

HUNGARY

OFFICIAL PUBLIC OPINION POLLS ON VARIOUS ISSUES

On Electoral Reform

Budapest JEL KEP in Hungarian No 4, 1984 pp 142-143

[Article by Laszlo Kulcsar--Maria Szurkos]

[Text] The population still knows fairly little about the changes carried out in the election system, and the majority of city voters does not know its representatives. Among other things this was shown in the opinion poll on election reform.\*

In May the minority of the population, 46 percent was aware of the fact that a new law had been enacted about the election of council members and of representatives in Parliament. But a significant part of them, 38 percent, could not tell how it differed from the old law. 40 percent mentioned that part of the changes related to the question of multiple nominations, but only 7 percent alluded to their compulsory character. One-fifth of the people polled could describe the changes only in generalities, saying that the election system had become more democratic, more highly developed. Very few people mentioned on their own that from now on some of the representatives in Parliament will run on a nationwide list (2 percent), and even further questioning decreased the proportion of those who had heard of the nationwide list only to 17 percent. In spite of the rather low level of information the majority of those polled, 61 percent judged the changes carried out in the election system to be essential; 29 percent of them did not consider them significant, and one-tenth of them took no definite position.

The fact that the voters, too, can propose somebody to become council member was known to 61 percent of the population: in 1980 this proportion was only 42 percent. The fact that the Patriotic People's Front has a right to nominate candidates has been mentioned by 17 percent of the people. Nine percent endowed the council management with a right to nominate, 7 percent the enterprises, 3 percent the party committees and 1 percent the party members.

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\*The poll was carried out on a nationwide representative sample of one thousand.

1 May 1985

Knowing the person of the present council member was strongly influenced by residential characteristics. In Budapest 15 percent of the voters knew who their council members were, in smaller towns 34 percent, and in the rural communities 63 percent. (The national average was 44 percent). The proportion of those who had some kind of experience about the work of a council member was again smallest in the capital city and greatest in the rural communities. The greater part of the experiences, 65 percent, was unambiguously positive, and 29 percent were ambiguous. If elections were held now, 59 percent of the people would again elect their present council member; 12 percent would not reelect him, 3 percent would vote for him only under certain conditions. For 6 percent the person of the council member did not matter, and 20 percent could not tell what they would do.

Only 11 percent of the population would accept being elected to be a council member, first of all because they feel capable of fulfilling this task. Those who would not accept such a role cited as reasons mainly lack of time, their advanced age, their inexperience or lack of personal traits necessary to carry out the work of a council member.

Seventy-three percent of the voters had heard that people could withdraw their commission from their council member. But only 2 percent of them knew that for doing so the consent of one-tenth of the voters was sufficient. In general they thought that such a step could be initiated only by the majority of the voters.

Nationwide 26 percent was the proportion of those who knew who their representative in Parliament was. This proportion was 12 percent in Budapest, 28 percent in the smaller cities and 30 percent in the rural communities. About the work of a representative 39 percent of the voters had some kind of an experience. The overwhelming majority of the experiences (three quarters of them) were positive.

#### On Administrative Reorganization

Budapest JEL KEP in Hungarian No 4, 1984 p 143

[Article by Laszlo Kulcsar--Maria Szurkos]

[Text] Abolition of rural districts is in favor of people living in the villages, most respondents said in the poll on public administration reform.\*

In May 73 percent of the population knew that, beginning in January, the rural districts had been abolished. But a quarter of them did not know why such a regulation had come about, the rest explained the abolition of rural districts mainly by trends to reduce bureaucracy and increase the efficiency of public administration.

\*The poll was made on a nationwide representative sample of one thousand persons.



The majority of people, 63 percent thought that the abolition of the district offices would bring some kind of a change in the lives of people living in the countryside; 23 percent thought that no change would be effected, 14 percent were uncertain about this question. As to concrete changes, opinions were strongly divided: half of the respondents figured that village people would have an easier time settling their affairs, and 31 percent of them thought that there would be more difficulties in this area.

Among the polled people 44 percent thought that after the abolition of the rural districts the say of the community council would increase most in settling the matters of the villages, 31 percent thought that the say of the county council would increase, and only 14 percent were of the opinion that the influence of the regional center would become the strongest. People living in the countryside thought more of an increase in the sphere of authority of the community council, whereas people living in the capital city thought more of an increase in the sphere of authority of the county council.

#### On 40-Hour Work Week

Budapest JEL KEP in Hungarian No 4, 1984 p 144

[Article by Miklos Tomka: "'Would prefer working more.' Echo of Introducing the 40-hour Work Week"]

[Text] According to the poll in three big Budapest firms the two-hour decrease of weekly working time is only of moderate importance for the working population.\*

The decreased working time is happily welcomed first of all by those who do not use the time becoming free to do secondary work (this includes the women, the elderly, those with large families). A significant part of the most active group (the men, the younger, those without families) uses the time becoming free to earn a secondary income, mostly outside of their regular working place. This group would prefer working more in its working place if it received higher wages for doing so. (Women, elderly and those with families show largely equal proportions in preferring a longer working time with higher earnings or a shorter working time with earnings unchanged.)

People use or would like to use the time becoming free first of all to enhance family relationships and to be with their children. Resting received second place.

Trying to earn a secondary income was mentioned by the workers rather as a necessary evil.

The reception of the changeover to a 40-hour work week was disturbed by defective preparation or, rather, orientation of the workers. Two percent of

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\*The poll was taken in February-March, 1984. Those polled included equally white- and blue-collar workers, local people and commuters, men and women.

those polled did not know at all that the conversion had taken place, although it had effected their work also. Eleven percent received no preliminary orientation whatsoever about the regulation, and 8 percent heard about it in personal conversations, in form of a rumor. Thus in workshop orientation the reduction of working time was not treated as an especially important question. No wonder, then, that neither did a part of the working population ascribe greater significance to it: in the families of 26 percent of those polled the topic was not even mentioned.

#### On Current Economic Situation

Budapest JEL KEP in Hungarian No 4, 1984 pp 144-145

[Article by Katalin Farkas--Judit Pataki: "'There Is Money for Less.' The Sentiments of the Public about Economy"]

[Text] Since the polls in September of last year there have been no major changes in the economic sentiments of the Hungarian adult population. The poll carried out this May shows only minor shifts.\*

At the time of the survey 85 percent of the people knew that Hungary had economic difficulties; the proportion of those aware of the problems has been this high for the last two years. Twenty-two percent of the population judged the economic difficulties to be great and 32 percent to be lasting. More people considered the economic perspectives of the next year or two hopeful rather than disquieting: one-third of those polled assumed that the country's economic development would become faster, and only 13 percent that it would slow down. Forty-five percent thought that the immediate future would bring no change in this respect. Much more pessimistically did people view the changes in living conditions: almost as many assumed that in the next one or two years the standard of living of the population will decrease (25 percent) as were those assuming that it would rise (28 percent). Forty-three percent anticipated no change in the standard of living during this period.

Forty-two percent of those polled experienced in the first few months of 1984 an increased difficulty in everyday shopping and getting supplies, and exactly the same number experienced neither improvement nor deterioration in this area. The majority continued to judge the changes in real income to be unfavorable: three-quarters of the people had the experience that they could buy less with their income now than a year ago. Even more numerous were those who thought that this year the rise in incomes will not cover the rise in prices (81 percent).

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\*The poll was made on a nationwide representative sample of one thousand persons.

HUNGARY

# NEW DEFENSE MINISTER DECORATES MILITARY OFFICERS

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 23 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by P. Buki - A. Toth: "Decorations, Recognitions"]

[Text] The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic--at the recommendation of the Minister of Defense--in recognition of its outstanding work in successfully executing the tasks of military and political training, in the maintenance of the high state of combat readiness, and in appreciation of their participation in the work of party and mass organizations, on the occasion of their retirement from active duty awarded "The Order of the Red Star" to Colonels Mihaly Krizsan and Jozsef Tancos and Lieutenant Colonel Arpad Banoczi, "The Order for Outstanding Service" to Colonel Jozsef Kiss, medical Lieutenant Colonels Geza Gyurcsik, Sandor Juhasz, Lajos Kiss, Marton Koszegi, Sandor Radnai, Dr Laszlo Schank, Lieutenant Colonel Pal Tusjak and Staff Warrant Officer Bela Benko.

In recognition of their effectiveness for several decades as party members in the military service of the country, on the occasion of their retirement from active duty, the Ministry of Defense awarded a decorative dagger to Colonel Bela Vorosmarty, an engraved watch to Kalman Czetenyi and souvenir objects to Colonel Janos Urban and Dr Jozsef Report.

In recognition of their effective application of socialist military science in Hungary and of their participation in the raising of standards at the Hungarian military academies and schools, on the occasion of their retirement, Colonel General Istvan Olah, Minister of Defense, awarded Miklos Zrinyi Commemorative Rings to Lieutenant Colonels Jenő Gal, Istvan Juhasz, Arpad Szabo and Gyorgy Zsernovitzky.

In recognition of their successful efforts in increasing the combat readiness of the People's Army, performed in responsible positions over an extended period of time, the Minister of Defense presented a golden dagger on the occasion of his 50th birthday to Colonel Istvan Geller, an ornamental dagger on the occasion of his 55th birthday to Colonel Albert Gomori and to Colonel Lajos Laszlo on the occasion of his 50th birthday, and souvenir objects--on the occasion of their 55th birthdays--to Colonels Kalman Gombas, Jozsef Kelemen, Imre Kreicsik, Mihaly Nagy, Janos Partos and Robert Szeles.

In recognition of his outstanding healing activity and exemplary professionalism over several decades in the medical service of the People's Army, the comrade Minister presented--on the occasion of his 60th birthday--an ornamental dagger to medical Colonel Dr Janos Tanai.

In recognition of their good work performed in the interest of smoothly conducting the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Organization's defense ministers, the supreme commander of the Unified Military Forces awarded letters of commendation and bonuses to Colonels Ferenc Szombathelyi and Sandor Fenyvesvolgyi, Lieutenant Colonel Gyula Nyuzo, Major Imre Kovacs and Captain Dr Mrs Pal Jako.

Colonel General Istvan Olah, Minister of Defense, presented the decorations and commendations and greeted the participants. Also in attendance were the members of the Military Council of the Ministry of Defense as well as Lieutenant General Dr Gyorgy Doro, Deputy Director of the National Planning Office, Major General Dezso Trombitas, secretary of the National Defense Committee of the Presidential Council and Lieutenant General Nikolai Silchenko, who represents the supreme commander of the United Military Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Hungary.

12588

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HUNGARY

## CONTENT, GOALS, PROBLEMS OF DISSEMINATING PROPAGANDA

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[Interview with Janos Barabas, deputy chief of the MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department, by Janos Nemes: "The Objective Is to Acquaint the World With Our Country"]

[Excerpt] The deputy chief of a Central Committee department illustrates in this interview how involved the task is of informing foreign countries about Hungary. He points out that there cannot be two kinds of propaganda: one for domestic consumption, and another for abroad.

[Question] How large is the area over which information about Hungary is disseminated? Which countries and whom are we striving to acquaint with our small country, with how it is living and with its aspirations?

[Answer] The area is large. It may be subdivided by groups of countries: the socialist world, the developed capitalist countries, and the developing countries. But it can be subdivided on the basis of other criteria as well. One of our tasks, for example, is to keep the fraternal parties informed about the activity of the MSZMP, and about the experience with its work. Keeping the Hungarians informed who are living beyond our borders is a special task of our propaganda aimed abroad. And it is also our task to ensure that our foreign-language information reaches the guests staying in Hungary: the tourists, businessmen, visiting artists, sportsmen, the conferees of international congresses, etc. Obviously, the ideal situation would be to arouse the interest and satisfy the curiosity of everyone, or at least of as many people as possible. But even countries bigger than ours are unable to do this. Due to our limited possibilities, therefore, we may regard as our principal task to keep those informed who inform others. In other words, we must aim to reach the opinion-makers who shape public opinion in politics, the economy, culture, science and tourism, the ones who play a role in how well informed the wide masses in a given country and society are, and how their value judgments develop. Which of course does not mean that we are not conducting so-called mass propaganda as well. We have also media, written in understandable language and appealing in their content, whose purpose is to give the widest possible masses colorful information about our country and domestic events.

[Question] Which immediately raises the next question: Why is it important to present ourselves in our true light? And knowing that under the present communication conditions all this is terribly expensive, I am afraid to ask: Is it not a luxury for us to participate on a relatively large scale in the worldwide information and propaganda competition?

[Answer] It is a matter of judgment whether our dissemination of information is large-scale, and our spending on propaganda excessive. In any event, it is entirely natural to want to present ourselves to others, and to let them see us in our true light. This is a natural ambition of infants, adults, and societies as well. Our people, and subsequently our nation when it was formed, probably always had a deep-rooted sense of isolation, a sort of insular feeling that stemmed from linguistic and various historical reasons. I think that such a nation and its present social reality probably have an even greater need to show what values they have created in their past and present. As an example, let me point out that a frequently recurring topic in discussions between Hungarian authors and their foreign counterparts is how surprised the world would be if it knew what lyrics and prose the Hungarian nation has produced, and in general what role Hungarian literature has played and is playing at various moments in our history. But there is also a special reason why this need to show is asserting itself even more: today this country has respect in the world, which was not always true in the past. It has won this respect with its results. With the social and political stability that is typical of its conditions; with the levels that it has attained during the past quarter century in its economy, living standard, culture and science; and with its consistently principled policy and unambiguous international behavior toward friend and foe alike. This respect has increased interest in Hungary. It is of vital political and economic importance, and essential also from the viewpoint of our further development, that we satisfy and further expand this interest. And one more consideration: we are disseminating information not only about Hungary, but also about a social system that has results, achievements and values, and especially opportunities, prospects, a future, and the ability to renew itself. We are able to demonstrate all this on the example of Hungary, to the benefit of entire socialism.

[Question] Through what media of communication, in what volume and--to the extent that it is measurable--in what quality is Hungary disseminating information abroad? And how much does this cost, in forints or foreign exchange?

[Answer] Perhaps you will be surprised to hear that the number of institutions and enterprises involved in one way or another with disseminating information or propaganda abroad is about 300. In addition to a wide circle of state institutions, enterprises and cooperatives, these include also the party, mass organizations, and mass movements. To mention the best-known ones by name: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the National Tourist Office, Hungarian Radio, Hungarian Television, the Ministry of Culture and Education, the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, the World Federation of Hungarians--they all engage in such activity. Let me explain in a bit more detail. Most Hungarian diplomatic missions regularly issue informative and documentational publications, hold press conferences and organize lectures. In seven foreign capitals we have press

offices that publish press bulletins and illustrated journals. We have cultural institutes in Berlin, Prague, Sofia, Warsaw, Vienna, Rome, Paris, Helsinki and New Delhi. We have a German-language political weekly, BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU. We have a quarterly political, social and literary magazine in English, the prestigious NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY. We have a bimonthly that publishes in condensed form articles that have already appeared elsewhere, HUNGARIAN DIGEST, which has also a French-language edition besides the English. In Russian we have a monthly political and cultural magazine, VENGERSKIYE NOVOSTI. Our Spanish and Polish magazines are bimonthlies. There is an illustrated magazine with captions in English, Arabic, French and Portuguese; it is intended primarily for the developing countries. Very important is the activity of Hungarian Radio: its foreign broadcasts in English, German, Italian, Spanish and Turkish can be heard a total of 17 hours a day. There is also a Hungarian-language foreign broadcast 3 hours a day, called "Szulofoldunk" [Our Fatherland]. In its capacity as a news and press agency, HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY is an important base for the dissemination of information abroad. The foreign broadcast editorial office transmits daily in Russian, German, English, French and Spanish, and it also publishes a weekly bulletin in each of these languages. Fairly new within the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY organization is the BUDAPRESS press agency. It publishes a bulletin entitled BUDAPEST JELENTI [BUDAPEST REPORTS], differentiating its content for the mentioned three groups of countries. Under the title HAZAI TUDOSITASOK [DOMESTIC REPORTS], it publishes in Hungarian a fortnightly bulletin containing materials useful to editors of Hungarian emigre newspapers. The article service publishes about 200 articles a year, but in addition it is willing to supply, upon request, articles on various topics in any language, to foreign counterparts or to the Hungarian staffs working abroad. The HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY also edits and publishes DAILY NEWS/NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN, an English and German daily that presents international political and domestic news, for the benefit of the foreigners visiting Hungary. This publication is unique in its kind in the entire world. Incidentally, I would like to mention here that we have a newspaper also for tourists visiting us from the socialist countries. MAGYAR HET [HUNGARIAN WEEK] is a fortnightly during the tourist season, but a monthly during the rest of the year, and is published in Russian, Czech and Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Polish and Romanian. Naturally, the many publications of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce play a role primarily in establishing and expanding our foreign trade and external economic relations. But in our foreign propaganda we are using effectively, in addition to print media, also the Hungarian Days that are held in various countries and cities. I might mention also the various publications to promote tourism. Or MAGYAR HIREK, the illustrated paper of the World Federation of Hungarians. Or the monthly journal of the National Council of Trade Unions that is published in six languages and presents information about the work of this mass organization that plays such an important role in Hungary's social and political life. But this listing is incomplete even so. I am unable to answer your question regarding the cost impact of this activity. I could tell you, say, how much the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has budgeted for printed propaganda; or how much the National Tourist Office is spending on propaganda for national tourism; or how much was the total expenditure for a given newspaper in a given year, and approximately how much was the newspaper's income. But all this would

reveal very little about the situation, because no summary is available of, say, what the individual enterprises, including the travel bureaus, are spending to advertise their goods and services abroad. But to give you a rough estimate, we figure that what the Hungarian People's Republic is spending on the dissemination of information and propaganda abroad, and on foreign advertising, is of the order of 100 million forints. As to whether this is too much or too little, I would not feel up to my job if I were to give you an answer other than that this is not enough. We should be spending much more. The way I see it, countries on the same level of development as Hungary (let alone the more developed ones) are spending more. The situation is peculiar. To use professional jargon, the target countries' receptivity--at least according to various indications--is generally greater than the propaganda we are able to disseminate. However, we must adjust to the realities. This country will long be unable to spend more than at present on disseminating information abroad. Incidentally, I am convinced that there are exceptionally great reserves, to use a fashionable expression. It is perhaps evident already from the above listing that our activity is more dissipated than what would be warranted. There is much duplication and overlapping, and there are few well-coordinated efforts. There are few ventures in which the various organizations and--God save the mark--enterprises coordinate their interests and pool their efforts, to their mutual benefit.

[Question] What exact data, estimates or assessments are available regarding the effectiveness of this activity? Are there any cost-benefit analyses at all?

[Answer] Exact measurement of the effectiveness is not possible. We have studied the effects of our foreign-language newspapers in the developed capitalist countries. According to the results of this study, these media are helping to form a picture of our country that in general is an objective one. The subjects they write about present the Hungarian socialist reality in all its contradictions. But we are not always successful in targeting our media accurately, i.e., in considering how the public opinion we want to influence is stratified, and what circle of opinion-makers our information or propaganda is reaching. Another thing: it is difficult to find the right balance between presenting our initiatives and new solutions that are in the forefront of attention abroad, and presenting the continuity of the nearly 40-year-old socialist period's characteristics and achievements that are, I would say, permanent and continuous. The study also showed that in printing technology our foreign-language newspapers lag behind the average for the press in the developed capitalist countries, and also behind the quality of the other socialist countries' publications targeted at the developed capitalist countries. It is possible to change this even within the present cost limits, by utilizing the reserves mentioned earlier. The linguistic quality of foreign-language propaganda is essential. Experts regard the average linguistic quality of our foreign-language newspapers as good. According to the same experts, however, a certain obsolescence and clumsiness of style frequently are typical even of the most carefully edited newspapers, and so is the striking characteristic that the terminology is not always close to the terminology presently being used in the given field within the given country. A further lesson is that although we must continue to regard informing the opinion-makers as our basic objective, we have to define the circle of opinion-makers more broadly. We must



include here the intellectual centers, for example, the universities, campuses, scientific institutions and libraries. Their radiating influence is much more significant than the attention we have been devoting to them so far. And another question that is perhaps the most exciting: Amidst the present developments in science and technology, the significance of traditional printed propaganda is declining, and that of audiovisual communication and personal contacts is rising. Although our financial situation raises an almost insurmountable obstacle to our activity in this respect, we must nonetheless face the fact that in foreign propaganda to every destination the future belongs to video technology. All this, of course, does not mean that the days of printed propaganda are numbered. But it does mean that we will have to spend more on video technology by using our available resources more prudently, even at the cost of regrouping them if necessary. Personal contacts also are very important. This applies to the personal propaganda influence of diplomats and trade representatives, and to the better use of the opportunities for foreign travel as well.

[Question] Allow me to interrupt you. I think it is very effective, especially in audiovisual information, when foreigners write about us, film us and put us on TV. The big advantage of their doing so is not only that they are footing the bill, but also the enhanced value of such information, primarily because they are the ones who are telling the story. And the "they" could be the bourgeois press or even the Western television corporations.

[Answer] I agree. In many instances this is indeed an effective form of disseminating information at present. To mention a statistic, each year more than 2000 journalists and TV crews visit Hungary. Most of them request that we organize their itinerary, and the host agencies satisfy such requests on the highest possible level. All this has proved effective. On the whole, the reports produced in this manner present a realistic picture. In the mass communication of the Western countries, of course, this "Hungary image" reflects the bourgeois set of values, i.e., it reflects the processes in Hungary as capitalist society sees them. The reports nevertheless, or specifically because of this, seem authentic to the reader or viewer.

[Question] You mentioned our wanting to present socialist reality, but this formulation seems too broad. Therefore my question is: What information do we want to disseminate about Hungary? Not primarily what subjects, but from what point of view? Are we disseminating special propaganda, or are we disclosing to foreign countries the same thing that mass communication is disseminating at home? Or to restate this question another way, is the information aimed abroad actually nothing other than the domestic output of the Hungarian press, radio and mass communication, merely translated into a foreign language? And if it is, then how do we stand with the golden rule of mass communication that maximum consideration must always be given to the target environment's level of knowledge and awareness, and its tastes and customs?

[Answer] Briefly stated, the answer is that the information disseminated abroad may be regarded the same as the information disseminated at home, but we are disseminating it differently. In terms of its principles, objectives, aspirations and the essence of its message, information about Hungary cannot be different when directed abroad than at home. In other words, there cannot be two kind of propaganda: one for domestic consumption, strictly among

ourselves, and another for abroad. But taking into consideration our political interests, what the target environment is interested in, and its objective situation, we must select from a possible wide range of contents. We must differentiate the points of main effort in content by geographic regions, country groups, and the characteristics of the target environment. The most important point of main effort in the content of foreign propaganda is the unambiguous and convincing presentation of the political, economic, cultural and social life of the Hungarian People's Republic. We would like to show what this social system, socialism in the process of its construction, has wrought for mankind, and within it for Hungary; why the construction of socialism, together with its problems and contradictions, represents the years of the nation's rise; and internationally how our example, too, proves socialism's viability and its ability to renew itself in a difficult historical period. All these tasks, formulated rather ideologically, must be carried out not by "escalating" the adjectives, but by relying on a thorough knowledge of reality and on the effectiveness of our arguments. And above all we must take extensively into consideration the image that the various regions and groups of countries have formed of Hungary. In the case of the socialist countries we must start out from the fact that it is in our primary national interest to strengthen our friendship and cooperation with the countries of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, with the socialist countries. This applies in an even greater degree to strengthening Hungarian-Soviet friendship, for the Soviet Union is the international mainstay of our peace and security. In their domestic dissemination of information, most socialist countries give suitable coverage to our results. But it is also quite natural that the content of the news coverage about Hungary is circumscribed by the given country's domestic political needs at any given time. The image that public opinion in the fraternal socialist countries has formed of Hungary is mostly favorable. Perhaps occasionally it is even too favorable and strongly result-centered. Because, regrettably, in the socialist countries' dissemination of information about one another we have not found as yet a solution to ensure that our results and problems are presented in their real dimensions. Therefore a relatively problem-free image of Hungary could have also its drawbacks: it could lead to overstating our real situation, which might generate aversion and even mistrust in some circles. I would like to note already at this point parenthetically that at the present time specifically this is one of the main objectives in the content of imperialist propaganda: to turn the socialist countries against one another. Also for this reason we must make use of every available channel to provide more information about the background and underlying motives of our plans, measures and decisions, and to point out that our different solutions serve the realization of common socialist objectives.

The considerable intensification at present of the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism determines our dissemination of information to the developed capitalist countries. This is not in accordance with our intentions. It is especially not in accordance with our intentions that the ideological struggle in our time, primarily as a result of the crusade that the United States Administration has launched against socialism and progress, is rising to the level of government policy and is poisoning international relations as well. Parallel with this, of course, we must also take into consideration that the capitalism confronting us is not homogeneous. The results of

detente unalterably are continuing to make themselves felt, and the capitalist countries' realistically thinking circles unalterably maintain their interest in peaceful coexistence, and in contacts and a dialog with the socialist countries. When formulating our tasks, nevertheless, we must take into consideration that bourgeois propaganda's strategic objective has not changed. It wants to undermine the social base of socialism, primarily by exploiting the social tensions that exist in the socialist countries. It stirs up nationalist sentiments and passions, and--as I have already indicated--wants to turn the individual socialist countries against one another. To this end, bourgeois propaganda is treating the individual socialist countries in a differentiated manner. The authoritative press, as noted earlier, continues to publish reports on Hungary that in general are realistic and not inimical, but at the same time it tends to question whether Hungarian policy is consistent and has long-term substantiation. It devotes close attention to our specific solutions that differ from the ones in the other socialist countries. And, in conjunction with these solutions, it suggests that our results stem from them, while our problems are due to following the "Soviet scheme." On the basis of our historical traditions, the inciting of nationalism is a good ideological weapon for bourgeois propaganda when writing about Hungary. In conjunction with our lively foreign-policy activity, for example, there have appeared rumors in recent months to the effect that we seem to be distancing ourselves somewhat from the socialist countries' coordinated joint foreign policy. The propaganda that we are conducting in the developed capitalist world fits into this general picture. We must admit that this propaganda is not very powerful because, as I have said, our possibilities and the interest in us are both limited. What we regard as essential is to tell the developed capitalist countries a bit more than what might be said elsewhere, about the historical path of building socialism in Hungary, about the start and our achievements--in other words, about the background--so as to prove also in this manner socialism's viability and potential. We have to talk about the harmony of the new elements, particular solutions, socialist principles and socialist values. In this information it is important to lend proper emphasis to the development of socialist democracy, legality, the atmosphere in public life, stability and the questions of security. In spite of all our problems, I believe that many questions of Hungarian policies on youths and women can attract considerable interest even in the developed capitalist world. We have to reiterate from time to time our principled foreign-policy standpoint, demonstrating that Hungary is a staunch ally of its allies, and a fair and reliable partner of the countries cooperating with it.

Our possibilities for propaganda in the developing countries are limited. The demand is great, for there is keen interest particularly in our history and policy of alliance, but also in the development of relations between church and state, for example, or in the results and problems of our agriculture, education, health care, and youth policy. To the best of our ability, we are striving to tell the developing countries also about these matters.

[Question] Let us go a bit further, to the "how" of the message. What about the criticism, the system's debates with itself, the doubts, alternatives and differences of opinion, and the "is this the right way" brooding that are increasingly a part of mass communication at home? Should we translate all that too, word for word, or should we tell it "in foreignese"?

[Answer] I think that what I said earlier applies to this question as well. We do not have too different kinds of propaganda style, two different kinds of propaganda considerations. If it is a basic principle of disseminating information at home that the public should be regarded as a partner and treated as adults, and that reality should be presented with all its contradictions, then this holds true for foreign propaganda as well. The problem, in my opinion, is caused by the fact that the domestic mass media do not always succeed in presenting life's real processes in their real dimensions and shades. We often find that our results and achievements are not getting the emphasis they really deserve. The mass media do not acknowledge and express the pleasure of work well done, and mainly they are not sufficiently able to inspire greater effort in a difficult period. Occasionally these shortcomings of the mass media at home are reflected in the propaganda directed abroad. For it has always been a mission of foreign propaganda to advertise--not cheaply and superficially, of course, but in good taste--to attract business partners and tourists, to generate interest and to gain an ever-wider public. Therefore I believe that if domestic mass communication is able to improve, and to reflect more accurately life's problems and joys in their real dimensions, then also the information and propaganda directed abroad--differentiated according to the target environment, country and linguistic area--will be better able to communicate. But NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY, for example, is a medium for intellectuals, and as such it will of course report more extensively our problems, contradictions and brooding than, say, MAGYAR HET will, which regards as its task the dissemination of information for tourist groups and the organization of their schedules.

[Question] The situation may be as you have outlined it, but there is also a special pitfall. Do not our international position and our diplomatic or external economic interests or alleged interests--in other words, the interests that officials working in the area suggest but misinterpret--sometimes raise barriers for our information and propaganda activity, barriers that are unnecessary and could be passed?

[Answer] As a rule, they do not raise barriers. Occasionally, of course, our real interests may cause us to stop and consider whether certain reports should be released, at home as well as abroad. Naturally, probable diplomatic events or considerations of our economic relations place their demands also on our information and propaganda activity. On the other hand, it often happens that alleged interests appear as barriers. We must strive to avoid this. By briefing the staff engaged in foreign information, we must make them able to distinguish our real interests from instances in which officiousness, caution or simply face-saving is at work.

[Question] One last question, and a somewhat personal one. Do you like this work, and does it satisfy your ambitions and hopes? To the best of my knowledge, you have switched to this difficult profession two years ago, although not from an entirely unrelated field, of course.

[Answer] A person does not choose such assignments himself. Your question has been worded extremely politely, but I frankly admit that foreign propaganda was an entirely unknown field to me. The fact that my job involves also many other duties, in which I was perhaps not such a novice as in disseminating information abroad, helped my situation somewhat. Since then I have learned to like this work very much. It is admittedly difficult, but I find it very exciting and varied. I am satisfied in every respect with what I am doing.

HUNGARY

YOUTH ON 'SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM,' 'PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM'

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[Report on an Investigation by Gyula Laszlo: "What Are the Opinions of High School Youth About Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism?"]

[Text] In our world burdened with contradictions, one of the most important political issues and tasks--alongside the increase in productivity--is the true and proper knowledge and education of youth. For this, however, familiarity with and constant observation of the stratum's frame of mind, interests, abilities and deeds are indispensable.

Our socialist society offers wide scope for young people ready to take the initiative and for the development of their talent. Yet the fact--which springs decisively from the current limitation of our economic capacity--that the opportunities to start a career and obtain housing have become fewer exerts an unfavorable influence, and the mounting tensions in the international situation sometimes slow down the sweep of creative instinct.

For this very reason it has perhaps never been so important--in the 4 decades which have elapsed since the liberation--for us to be fully aware of the components of our young people's attitude towards life and of the characteristics of the development of their convictions and general condition. A fundamentally important factor in this is familiarity with their attitude towards the socialist homeland and an outline of the quality of their feelings about socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. On the one hand, we were guided by these goals when we examined, during the past scholastic year, the evolution of consciousness of patriotic feelings and deeds among students at the Szolnok branch of the College of Business, Hotel Management and Catering. On the other hand, we wanted to obtain some kind of picture of our students' political and historical knowledge, outlook and viewpoint formation, the development of their public activity, and their acceptance of responsibility for work; and we wanted to determine the most important areas in which we could move forward by making instructional emphasis more precise.

We attempted to survey this extraordinarily comprehensive and complicated set of questions in the following way:

--Eighty-one percent of the day-school students (217 persons) answered a questionnaire containing 51 questions about awareness of the meaning of patriotism

and internationalism. We are able to draw conclusions from the answers about the extent and components of the emotional/intellectual linkage.

--We analyzed documents related to the students' academic work, labor movement activity, collegiate and cultural life; TDK [expansion unknown] dissertations and mementos of political programs; and each departmental group continuously observed and evaluated--in accordance with the previously established viewpoint--the students' manifestations outside the classroom and study groups.

We were aware, naturally, that research based decisively on inquiry by questionnaire concealed numerous dangers: it makes the set of questions to be evaluated one-sided and oversimplified, and a portion of the answers do not reflect the students' opinions but rather the so-called expected answer, in conformity with conventions. When questionnaires are filled out by groups, however, it happens that answers are given which correspond to the views of the better students, or the trendsetters. These drawbacks were also occasionally perceptible in this investigation. We chose the descriptive method in the evaluation for this reason and also because, as it turned out in the writeup, such a wide-ranging stack of questions is not suited to the delineation of entirely unambiguous and objective trends.

More successful, then, is correct registration, which in itself is suitable to judging the general picture and can be turned to good account in subsequent educational work.

The number of day-school students was 267 during the period investigated; 69.2 percent were women, 30.8 percent men. The breakdown according to megyes (place of residence) is the following: Bacs-Kiskun 1.3 percent, Bekes 8.6 percent, Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen 23.6 percent, Csongrad 3.3 percent, Hajdu-Bihar 15.4 percent, Heves 10.4 percent, Pest 0.7 percent, Szabolcs 10.1 percent, Szolnok 26.6 percent.

73.8 percent of the students study in the business division, 26.2 percent in the hotel management and catering division. Sixty percent of them come from families of manual laborers (54.3 percent of these are the children of parents who belong to the working class; 9 percent the children of parents who belong to the peasantry on the cooperatives, 36.7 percent the children of parents who perform other physical labor), 35.6 percent from families with intellectual occupations, and 4.4 percent from the families of small-scale producers. During the period investigated, 67.4 percent of the students (180 persons) lived in dormitories, 10 percent in Szolnok, 22.6 percent in furnished rooms.

In one-fourth of the youths' families a parent, sibling or immediate relative can be found who works in business or the hotel and catering industry.

The income proportions are generally about 2,000 forints per person. 64.5 percent of the students graduated from high school (business division 54.8 percent, hotel and catering division 74.2 percent) and 35.5 percent from a vocational secondary school (business division 45.2 percent, hotel and catering division 25.8 percent).

These ratios are more favorable than those of comparable (agricultural) colleges and are largely related to successful admission, generally on the first occasion, or rather with the lower number of boys.

The indicators for how they arrived at their career choices are much more interesting, however. Forty-three percent of those questioned were inspired to choose this profession by parents, relatives or friends, 36 percent were influenced by school, and 20 percent ended up at this college "by chance, for lack of something better." Altogether 3 percent stated they had been preparing for this since childhood.

Sixty (28.7 percent) gave an appreciable answer to the question: "If you were not studying at this institution of higher learning, where would you have liked to go?" The majority of them would have selected a career as an economist or mathematician, but there are those who are attracted to philosophy or the arts. The need for postgraduate professional training preoccupies by far the greater part of third-year students; 30 percent would like to earn a degree from the University of Economics, and 12 percent want to take an additional language proficiency examination at the intermediate or advanced level (chiefly those in the hotel management line).

The majority of students arrive at the college with a firmly entrenched materialistic outlook on the world and with a level of historical and political knowledge which can be described as average. Commitment, good intentions and a lifestyle in conformity with public norms are characteristic of their behavior and work as a whole. We encountered no hostile attitude, no extremist view alien to our concepts and no deliberate animosity either in the classes or during the fact-finding investigation. Instead, excessive naivete or good faith are to be encountered now and then.

This does not mean, however, that they are inadequately sensitive or inquisitive. On the contrary, they are open and they closely follow the events of international life in particular and the new phenomena of our economic life. Here they take a lively interest chiefly in national economic issues related to their professions or those in connection with socialism's scale of values.

By the concept of homeland the decisive majority (70 percent) understand the country, our socialist social system; the remainder interpret it in the narrower sense: 12 percent identified it with place of birth, 12 percent understood it to mean family and relatives, 10 percent the Hungarian landscape and culture. But a broader designation also occurs, for example, the community of Hungarian speakers (4 percent) or the "Carpathian Basin" (2 percent). As a designation for "homeland," Transylvania figured in a single answer, as the family's place of birth and origin. To sum up, if they do not know how to define the concept of homeland precisely, the majority are properly aware of its essence and indicate it.

Ninety-one percent of those examined correctly indicated the essence of our form of government and our political system (socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat, people's republic) and the characteristics of the rate of our current economic growth (solid foundations, fluctuating productivity). Growth is found to be slow by 10 percent, fast by 8 percent, unpredictable and contradictory by 5 percent, adequate and effective by 42 percent.

In their judgment, the chief criteria for a good patriot are work, love of homeland and willingness to sacrifice. The most uniform were in this answer. Everyone indicated love of homeland. On the other hand, only one-third of them included work, and many accepted willingness to sacrifice only as "one's life, if necessary," fewer as everyday moral courage. (This means that love of homeland is occasionally coupled with pathos, and only with difficulty can it be grasped as a natural sentiment; rather, it is raised above the everyday character.)

It is even harder for them to draw a genuine distinction between homeland and socialist homeland. Sixty-two percent perceive the difference, but only 20 percent could offer reasons, they, too, in an instinctive approach. The two concepts are felt to be identical by 30 percent, and 8 percent were unable to answer the question.

In making the distinction, the most common opinion was that "the concept of homeland does not necessarily require that it be socialist--refer to reform period." Yet the socialist homeland is equivalent to today.

Ninety-eight percent of those questioned are proud to be Hungarian, but the majority of other answers also reflect healthy, legitimate, national pride which was not coupled with a tone of or remarks about nationalism in a single case. Two percent feel that due to our past and our current problems we have no reason for pride, "we should learn from history rather than feel proud." A single youth wrote that he was not proud to be a Hungarian because "we are an easily swayed and compromising species."

An important gauge for the acceptance of socialism and for identification with our present is: how do people view the main characteristics of our country's social and economic development, the reasons for problems, and the possibilities for progress? Ninety-one percent of the students examined were able to judge correctly that our fatherland is a moderately developed industrial-agricultural country; according to 9 percent, today it is an unequivocally industrial country. It is also auspicious that 98 percent of them can picture their life and their future only here in this country and social system, and they feel we must work more effectively to stabilize our economic equilibrium, making better use of our existing reserves and possibilities. Altogether 1 percent feels that in order to establish the equilibrium "we should borrow more dollars," or "we should request aid from the advanced industrial countries."

The majority also correctly indicated which international political and economic organizations our country is a member of: CEMA 100 percent, the Warsaw Pact 89 percent, the United Nations 83 percent, the International Monetary Fund 81 percent, GATT 58 percent. No one indicated NATO, they did not know what to do with CENTO (the oral interviews also confirmed that the military and economic blocs outside Europe are not known), and 28 (12.8 percent) thought that our country is a member of the Common Market.

The sketchiness of knowledge about our history after the liberation is indicated by the fact that only 26 percent of those questioned knew that the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was formed in Szolnok on 4 November 1956; 27 percent could not answer. Thirty-eight percent of them named Budapest, 6 percent Debrecen,



3 percent Szeged, and in a few cases Kecskemet or Nyiregyhaza were the guesses. The reasons for the 1956 counterrevolution are narrowed down by the majority exclusively to the personality cult.

We thus tried to measure the emotional linkage through questions, which in itself meant a sort of narrowing down, but in a few contexts it is suitable for making things clear.

The order of the most significant national and public holidays--on the basis of emotional linkage--was indicated as follows:

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|---------------|--------------|---|
| 1. 15 March   | (76 percent) | (At least three holidays had to be indicated, |
| 2. 4 April    | (71 " )      | in the order of importance)                   |
| 3. Christmas  | (70 " )      |   |
| 4. 21 March   | (53 " )      |   |
| 5. 1 May      | (46 " )      |   |
| 6. Easter     | (44 " )      |   |
| 7. 7 November | (39 " )      |   |

The sequence indicates that--alongside family holidays--the holidays which are associated with the liberation and which have become traditions in the life of the Hungarian Communist Youth League live most vividly in young people around 20 years of age.

Very interesting is the answer sequence in which they listed those whom they considered the most progressive among the personalities who have played a significant role in Hungarian history.

- |                   |              |  |
|-------------------|--------------|--|
| 1. Lajos Kossuth  | (73 percent) | (Here, too, at least three had to be indicated |
| 2. Ferenc Rakoczi | (67 " )      | from among the 12 names which figured in the   |
| 3. Janos Hunyadi  | (54 " )      | questionnaire)                                 |
| 4. Bela Kun       | (49 " )      |  |
| 5. Gyorgy Dozsa   | (41 " )      |  |
| 6. Sandor Petofi  | (40 " )      |  |
| 7. Endre Sagvari  | ( 3 " )      |  |
| 8. Laszlo Rajk    | ( 1 " )      |  |

No one named Matyas Rakosi, Mihaly Karoly, Istvan Dobi and Ferenc Munnich. We can conclude from this that their knowledge and sentiments are directed chiefly at the 1848 revolution, the struggles against the Turks and the House of Habsburg, and the Soviet Republic, and that they know less about Hungarian history after 1919. (In all likelihood the picture would have been more favorable had we performed the fact-finding investigation at the end of the sixth semester when the third-year students had finished studying the history of the Hungarian labor movement.)

The same thing is confirmed by the fact that the majority (80 percent) indicate the 1848 war of independence, or rather our country's liberation, as the proudest moment. At the same time, it gives one food for thought that only 12 percent of them listed the 1919 Soviet Republic and altogether 1 percent the peasant uprising of Dozsa.

A peculiar aspect of the emotional linkage is indicated by when and what young people sing. This question gave rise to the most contradictory answers, the ones most difficult to evaluate. The drop in singing's prestige or the shortcomings in shaping taste are indicated by the fact that one-third of the students never sing at all (it is not required) or only the "beat" hits in vogue. However, the majority--occasionally or, if necessary, at festivities, for example--sing the Marseillaise or the song entitled "My Fatherland, My Fatherland, You Are My Everything..." Among the most readily sung labor movement songs, the "Red Csepel" leads, in fourth place in the rankings. (The first Hungarian National Anthem, the Internationale, the second Hungarian National Anthem, and the marching song of the World Federation of Democratic Youth did not figure among the songs to be indicated.)

A much more reliable and "expressive" element for measuring emotional linkage is a mapping of: "Which country would you like to be a citizen of?" and "If our fatherland had to attach itself to another country, which one would you want it to be and why?" It is very auspicious that 97 percent of the youths do not want to be of another nationality, and 98 percent of them want to live and prosper in this country.

Fifty-one percent would not like it if we had to attach ourselves to someone else; if it were nevertheless unavoidable, then the vast majority would attach themselves to the Soviet Union because "it is strong and signifies security." Twelve percent indicated Switzerland because of its neutrality and advanced economy; 2 percent mentioned France due to its culture, traditions and landscape. Austria, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany also turned up sporadically (one or two mentions). Outside the Soviet Union, no other state from among the socialist countries was mentioned.

The fact-finding investigation confirmed the national trend that literature plays a lesser role than before in the formation of the current college generation's identity awareness and patriotic feelings; and in the development of a viewpoint on history, the "curio works" (for instance, Istvan Nemeskurthy's "Requiem for a Hungarian Army") have a more perceptible impact. This is why it is not surprising that the greatest portion of the students questioned indicated only Petofi, Ady and Radnoti as poets whose works strengthened their patriotism. A few mentioned Attila Jozsef, Gyula Illyes, Mor Jokai and Zsigmond Moricz; no other poet or writer, however, figured in the 217 answers. We also asked them to name at least three works (writers) from world literature which set a good example for patriotism, internationalism and the willingness to sacrifice. Altogether 11 novels figured in the answers, among them two with a frequency of 60 percent: Solohov's "Human Destiny" and Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls." Next in frequency followed novels entitled "To Thine Own Self Be True" by Erich Knight, "War and Peace" by Tolstoy, "Mother and E.M." by Gorky, and "Unprotected Among the Wolves" by Remarque.

This powerful narrowing down--the fact that only the Solohov and Hemingway works figured in most of the answers--can be traced back to two contexts: 1) the shortcomings in the teaching of literature in high schools (few works are remembered, and only signs pointing to patriotism are recognized) and 2) the fact that not much good literature is read during the high school years, mostly detective stories, popular bestsellers or science fiction works.

We examined the quality of knowledge and sentiments tied to proletarian internationalism in the light of their judgment of our links to the socialist community, or rather some issues of international solidarity. In this set of topics, we also asked about the concept of nationalism because--beyond mere definition--here it can be compared most graphically with views on the regard for other peoples.

By proletarian internationalism the decisive majority (68 percent) mean solidarity based on the joint interests of the international division of labor or rather mutual respect based on the coequality of peoples, and as concrete examples they offered support for the Warsaw Pact or national liberation movements.

Seventy-four percent of the students consider love of the socialist homeland inseparable from the feeling of proletarian internationalism; 12 percent (first-year students in the majority) consider them two completely different concepts; and 14 percent could draw no distinction or did not answer the question. These proportions--altogether reassuring on the whole--indicate that a profounder interpretation is required to clarify the relationship.

Seventy percent of those questioned consider our relationship with the Soviet Union important, good, useful and indispensable. It might be even closer and more fruitful, according to 20 percent, but to the question of how and in what area they were unable to suggest alternatives. (It is interesting that this 20 percent is only partly identical with those who would like to attach themselves to the Soviet Union, if it were necessary to merge with some nation.) According to altogether three answers (1.3 percent), we would be able to exist and defend ourselves without the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact. One of them justified this by saying that "as a neutral country, perhaps more favorable credit terms and market possibilities would be offered to us than this way."

The majority consider the relations we have developed with the socialist countries advantageous, successful and very important. Most answers (81 percent) pointed out, however, that a few issues should be normalized with some countries, first and foremost with Romania, and according to 15 respondents with Czechoslovakia, too. (In the background to these opinions, the effects of rumors or the occasionally unfavorable experiences of tourist trips can be found.)

The fact is also auspicious that in the answers given to questions about our future and our well-being no one indicated that "it would be better if our fatherland were a capitalist country." The majority see the road ahead in closer cooperation with the socialist community ("for example, CEMA on the West European market") or in better, more coordinated work.

On the other hand, a contradiction is indicated by the view that--according to the majority--the fate of the Hungarian people depends only in part on the fate of the peoples of the neighboring socialist countries, even then mostly "as a result of the ripple effect" (for example, in connection with the events in Poland). According to 20 percent, it does not depend on this, because "we have to solve our problems in any case"; and there are likewise about 20 percent who think that "our destiny depends on the Soviet Union." (It provides food for thought that in this question the interdependence of the fate of the socialist community's peoples was approached almost exclusively from the drawback side, for instance, recession.)

Very general and narrowed-down answers were given to the question: "What do you understand by the concept of nationalism?" In the majority of opinions, the following was formulated: "The placement of a people, a country, above everybody else; the belittlement of--and discrimination against--others." There were those who understood nationalism as "racial hatred," others as an "unsound policy toward national minorities." According to the majority, there is no nationalism which can be described as dangerous in our country today. "From time to time, however, it turns up in the attitude of some," but in whose attitude and how, they did not reply. The oral interviews also confirmed that they oversimplify the set of problems involving nationalism, they do not consider it dangerous, or rather in many cases only the Romanian-Hungarian relationship, or they bring up as an example the fate of Hungarians living outside our borders. They are not familiar with the attempts of hostile propaganda to incite nationalism, and they do not perceive it in their surroundings. Nor does the so-called Trianon problem live as vividly in them as in the students of the department of philosophy, or as can be observed occasionally in some intellectual strata. The more inquisitive (maximum 10-15 percent) can correctly define the essence of the concept; they perceive the occasional intensification of nationalism, especially if they compare the Hungarian reality with the current practice of some countries' policies toward national minorities.

The defining characteristics of socialist patriotism are the attitude toward work, love for the chosen career, and the degree of awareness of preparation. During the survey, therefore, we considered it highly important to gauge

- how, with what kind of consciousness and expeditiousness the students work;
- whether they are satisfied with their current accomplishments, or whether this level is acceptable in their workplace to themselves and their coworkers;
- whether they willingly undertake assignments in public life, in society;
- under the influence of what motivating factors they participate in social work;
- what opinion they have of the labor movement work which they, too, take part in and shape.

The general academic achievement of the branch's students is about average (high school average in 1981-82: 3.60, in 1982-83: 3.65), which corresponds to the secondary school mean or to the achievements of high schools with a similar profile. Playing a role in this are the heavy work load (6 to 10 hours daily), 15-20 zh [expansion unknown] on the average every half year; completion of the academic obligations of five to eight subjects of instruction; the time loss which results from sharing the college's accommodations; the high number of programs (especially in the hotel management division); but also the lack of uninterrupted study. It is favorable that, on the whole, the achievements in professional subjects are better, which is supported by the results of the state examinations as well. But it is also a fact that more than 90 percent of those who obtained a diploma on the first occasion work in the profession, preponderantly in a place corresponding to their original notions.

The indications of the workplaces are positive. As far as they know, the number of those with whom the workplace is dissatisfied--or where the young person beginning his career is disappointed and gives voice to this--is under ten. During a year there was no voluntary change of workplace outside the enterprise. At the same time, it is also a fact that a portion of them--particularly the boys--are dissatisfied with the job given them or with the long-range possibilities.

In several places, they are employed while attending school, and before fulfillment of military service the enterprises do not make statements in connection with a youth's future.

More than half of those questioned are dissatisfied with their current scholastic achievements; a smaller portion of them (30 percent) are partly satisfied, and only 12 percent stated they considered their achievements adequate. It is interesting that the bulk of the latter belong among the mediocre students.

Seventy percent of them did not answer the question; "What do you intend to do in the interest of improvement?" By far the greatest number of those making a statement see a solution only in "further study"; the indication "better, more effective selection" occurs in one or two cases.

On the other hand, it is shocking that in spite of this the majority are dissatisfied or only partly satisfied with their current achievements--80 percent stated that at their prospective workplace they will consider the level at which they now work "acceptable." From their coworkers, however, only 40 percent of them would accept work at a level similar to their high school achievements. (It is possible to conclude from this that their self-assessment is still not sufficiently objective in everything, or rather that they are more lenient with themselves than with their coworkers.)

It also provides food for thought that the great majority are dissatisfied with the youth labor-movement work (the average rate of condemnatory answers given to questions concerning this is over 80 percent), and consider it monotonous, ceremonial and intermittent; and they blame not themselves but rather primarily the leadership of the Communist Youth League, or rather the "high school atmosphere," for this. There were few suggestions for solutions and those, too, can be described as one-word ideas for the most part (for example, more informal programs, fewer Communist Youth League meetings, etc). A clear-cut demand was formulated in connection with a single area, a political debate circle which satisfies the students' interests better and more quickly, but in this, too, the initiative taking is expected from above.

A much more favorable picture is presented by love of profession, the development of a demand for comprehensive knowledge of one's chosen occupation. To strengthen this, auspicious efforts can be found, especially within the framework of the subjects of occupational economics and organization. Love of profession and the demand for conscious preparation are stronger among the students in the hotel management division. A portion of the third-year students in the business branch stated that they were "disappointed, and if it is this way in practice, too, then they will change careers." They indicated unfavorable experiences obtained in enterprise practice as the main reason for disappointment.

12327

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HUNGARY

## PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS FOR TEACHING PROFESSION DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by chief of educational section of Capital City Council, Dr Gyula Mezei: "The Measure: Success in Education"]

[Excerpts] The New Generation

The internal development of educational bodies, the level of their ideological, pedagogical unity is uneven. In some bodies one can find a person who barely understands the complicated social and pedagogical processes, and then next to him one who is involved systematically and in depth in the problems of our age. One keeps a distance of three steps between the pupil and himself, for the other the child's entire life is an open book. Often the colleagues representing both of these extremes live and work beside each other scarcely having any arguments. This "peaceful coexistence" is dangerous in the case of such vital differences in principle, because it puts a forceful brake on the development of the unity of the educational bodies.

Among the primary worries which can be considered objective I must mention in any event the inadequacies in the replacement of educators. In the kindergartens since 1970, in the lower grades of the grammar schools since 1973-1974 educators have been replaced by masses of people without qualifications. By today we have to employ them in great numbers also in the upper grades, and we are full of worries about what will happen when the baby boom reaches the high school. Will there be people to teach the children? Especially the lack of solution to the problem of training the educators of the vocational instructional establishments (engineer-teachers, vocational instructors) weighs upon us like lead. The lack of trained educators is worst in Budapest; therefore we have consistently fought for more than a decade for a supply of new teachers, to the educators in their professions.

The ministry of education has issued significant regulations to increase the number of teacher trainees, to establish teacher training for grammar schools in Budapest, to fashion transitional training systems for grammar and high school teachers, and currently they are working on a comprehensive reform of the training of educators. Important decisions have been made not only to enrich the training but also to improve the living and working conditions of the teachers (extraordinary wage adjustments, reduction in administrative

work, etc). The only trouble is that these regulations usually arrived too late or did not come to bear fruit at the time the demands arose; thus we can solve the accumulated problems only in the longer range.

The lack of suitably trained educators has an impact on many levels. It puts a huge additional burden upon the shoulders of the kindergarten managers and teachers, grammar school teachers in both the lower and the upper grades and upon the principals. Some of our schools truly became little colleges, and there were schools where the difficult situation hammered the community together and gave a grade of "excellent" to the leaders and to the esprit de corps. In other places even a temporary deficiency destroyed the spirit and brought to the surface the tensions that had only been a foreboding before.

#### Overworked

The other objective factor partially connected with the lack of teachers is their being overworked. Everybody knows that their number can be planned only for the scheduled classes, whereas the work actually to be done involves more than that. The way our profession has been going, extracurricular activities are becoming more and more stressed in it. The are overworked also because greater emphasis is placed upon extraneous, operative organizational tasks and less upon the organization of most intrinsic work. In many cases these tasks hypertrophy. The teaching communities do not have significant enough a role in educational organization work, instead we often witness great formal ambitions, often all kinds of inconvenient and unnecessary meetings make the everyday routine of teaching more difficult.

Overworking has been intensified by the fact that in the schools no proper distribution of work has been developed. The distribution of tasks is not discussed by the body of educators. Some educators are weighed down by a disproportionately large loads, while others do little more than teach their classes.

In September 1984 the directive of the minister of education about reducing the administrative burdens of the teachers was issued. This directive is progressive in its intention, its purpose is to take the superfluous burdens off the shoulders of the educators. On the part of the Capital City Council we, too, welcomed this regulation; indeed, I immediately want to add that we complemented it with a Budapest directive explaining and advising how the minister's regulation can be carried out. We dealt with the reduction of administrative burdens in our own area of authority and found many ways to ease the work of the schools. However, the fact that this is not the first time such a regulation has been issued must make us think. A regulation issued in 1973 has been in force until now, and it is also aimed at easing the teachers' administrative burdens. School is a living organism having significant educational and general governing tasks. But does school today have at its disposal an organization qualified to fulfill these tasks? We cannot speak of such an organization--especially in the lower-grade instructional establishments. The principal must choose: Either he does everything himself and therefore cannot be involved in directing the school, or having no other choice, he delegates or rather--in accordance with the present regulation--requests teachers to do certain administrative chores.

The amount of administration is also increased by the view that it is better to document everything, because who knows when and why the teacher will have to give account to the principal, the supervisor, the parent or somebody else. Unfortunately, often this view is justified. This fact of having to defend oneself also increases the amount of administration.

#### Appreciation of the Educator's Work

In the educational bodies one of the most discussed problems is how today's society values the teacher's work. The teachers feel that education depends only upon the work of the school, that shaping the future generation, making education a societal task has become trite, an empty phrase. They sense the disregard for their work is reflected in their wages which even after wage adjustments are not in harmony with the complicated nature of their work, with their willingness to make sacrifices. For years it has been generally known that this is perhaps the only profession demanding a great amount of overtime (in Budapest this has increased by 25 percent in recent years), but overtime pay is lower than the pay for work done in regular working hours. This is, so it seems, the only profession in which we oblige workers to work several shifts, but the idea of recognizing this with a shift increment in wages has not even come up. They also see an underestimation of their work in the fact that they have no precise work description and thus can be made accountable for everything. The teachers' residences in many case are also their working places, but they receive little help from their employers in improving their living conditions.

From all of this they conclude that today's society does not appreciate or value the teacher's work, making them helpless and destroying respect for them in the eyes of their pupils and their parents. I am told that both nationwide and local council regulations can be helpful here. For this very reason quite recently the Capital City Council has issued several regulations aimed at improving the appreciation of teachers, for example, to insure a working place wage increment for those working under more difficult conditions by taking over the expenses of retraining, to improve their residential situation by arranging for apartment building loans, by building bachelor houses, and by establishing teachers' hotels it has shown that as an employer it is paying attention to improving the teachers' living and working conditions and that it is also prepared to do more--should its chances increase.

12772

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ROMANIA

ROUNDTABLE ON PATRIOTISM, MINORITY PROBLEM

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/Discussion by Univ Reader Dr Andris Alexe, Scientific Researcher Mihai Arsen, Dr Maria, Cobianu Bacanu, Dr Elena Florea, Ladislau Gergely, Liana Ionescu, Univ Lecturer Dr Maria Lupu, Pamfil Nichitelea, Dr Eugenia Stefan, Francisc Ungvari and Univ Reader Dr Calin Valsan

/Text/ As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Joint Session of Hungarian and German Workers Councils, "We must intensify the educational effort to further develop revolutionary socialist patriotism and love of country, of the people, and of the cause of socialism and the freedom and happiness of all workers and the Romanian people!"

By virtue of its principles, ideas, conclusions and guidelines of great ideological and political value, Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly Report to the 13th Party Congress is of outstanding theoretical and practical importance to the activity of the party and the entire Romanian people. The broadly comprehensive view on which this brilliant document is based is illustrated by the whole treatment of the far-reaching problems of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism, from those of developing the productive forces and improving social relations to those in connection with the effort to form the new man as a purposeful and dedicated builder of the socialist order.

Accordingly in discussing the tasks of political-ideological and educational work to form the workers' advanced socialist awareness and to promote the moral-political traits characteristic of the man of the Romanian order more and more effectively, the documents of the congress primarily emphasize revolutionary socialist patriotism both as a basis and a necessity for fulfillment of the personality and equally as a powerful motive force for the nation's progress on the path of socialism and communism. As the Report to the 13th Party Congress points out, "The entire political-educational effort to form the new man must be concentrated on development of revolutionary socialist patriotism, of love of country, of responsibility and devotion to the people and their revolutionary gains, and of determination to work and struggle for socialist and communist construction, for the people's even greater material and cultural welfare, and for Romania's independence and sovereignty and its revolutionary gains."

By such views the party secretary general's report to the great communist forum strikingly demonstrates the continuity of the concept, emphasized since the Ninth RCP Congress, that love of country, dedication to the great national values, and determination to make ceaseless efforts in defense of the people's revolutionary gains and on behalf of the nation's progress, which are all essential characteristics of revolutionary socialist patriotism, are important factors for progress, for consolidation of the people's unity and cohesion, and for every citizen's active and direct involvement in national socioeconomic development. In this view, patriotism is an inexhaustible source of high social and moral values that heighten civic initiative and responsibility and friendly collaboration and mutual aid among all workers regardless of nationality as well as further consolidation of the people's socialist unity.

Accordingly the participants in the recent plenums and the joint session of the Hungarian and German workers councils have emphasized Nicolae Ceausescu's essential and decisive role in the correct solution of the minority problem and in strengthening the entire people's unity and friendship and have flatly rejected the attempts of the reactionary imperialist forces and of some circles abroad to undermine the Romanian people's permanent unity and socialist Romania's sovereignty and independence. They have given a firm answer to those attempts by expressing their unanimous intention to allow no one to disparage the progress made in building the new order and solving the minority problem or to sow discord among the workers by promoting nationalist, chauvinist and irredentist ideas.

The special emphasis the RCP and its secretary general are placing on indoctrination of all workers in the spirit of revolutionary socialist patriotism necessarily requires intensive study and discussion of the many considerations and courses of action suggested by this important problem. In view of those considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged the following discussion in collaboration with the Institute of Political Sciences in the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy. In this issue we are publishing the comments in abridged form.

#### Patriotism and Fatherland

**PAMFIL NICHETELEA:** The 13th RCP Congress inaugurated a new stage in construction of the fully developed socialist society and in Romania's advance toward communism, as the adopted decisions portend major qualitative changes in all socioeconomic activities and also in the awareness of people, who are the creators of all material and cultural values. The RCP considers construction of the new order inseparable from formation of the new man and his advanced awareness, imbued with the revolutionary patriotic spirit. The increasingly important role of patriotism in formation and development of all workers' socialist awareness is due to its central position in every one's way of life and thought and its importance as a veritable nucleus around which all the values of Romanian society are polarized. Patriotism is an essential feature of our national dignity and identity and of our pride in belonging to a free, sovereign and independent people.

As a new and better system in man's history, socialism gives every country unprecedented progress and thereby provides the best background for the full assertion of patriotism. The new light in which the socialist system places the ancient but ever present phenomenon of patriotism is summed up in the progressive

way the national interests are interpreted and promoted and in the permanent dedication of the members of Romanian society to the socialist and communist ideals. Reflecting a higher nature of patriotism under the new order, dedication to the RCP policy and defense, consolidation and development of the revolutionary gains have become the vital cause of the workers, peasants and intellectuals and of all workers regardless of nationality in Romania.

Freed of exploitation and oppression, masters of their fates, and purposeful builders of progress, the workers and the entire people are inspired by the noble sentiment of revolutionary socialist patriotism, which is characterized of course by a strong militance and creativeness because the masses realize that they are building their future in complete freedom. It goes without saying that the great aims set by the 13th Party Congress cannot succeed without more intensive use of this vast social force, the patriotism of the entire Romanian people. That is why Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the requirement, in his report to the congress, that patriotic indoctrination should emphasize intensive progress in the general effort to create a new society as well as increasingly active mobilization of the masses' reserves for creative action.

MIHAI ARSENE: Actually, in the light of the documents of the 13th Party Congress, the main objective of patriotic indoctrination is to form a progressive, revolutionary attitude toward work and toward fulfillment of the economic, social-political and cultural aims of the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and of Romania's development up to the year 2000.

Construction of the socialist and communist future requires a purposeful and persevering effort to make good use of all Romania's potentials for progress, and the vital part is to be stressed here that patriotic indoctrination has to play in forming the advanced moral-political character of all members of society and especially the young generations as the present and future builders of fully developed socialism. Patriotic indoctrination is expected to contribute to full understanding of the great demands of Romanian society's progress and of the requirements of every stage in its advance toward socialism and communism, and to reinforcement of the will and determination to overcome any difficulties or obstacles in the way of the effort to bring Romania up to new heights of progress and civilization, especially in view of the present strained international situation, the world economic crisis, and the imperialist policy of force, armament, and interference in other states' internal affairs.

In the RCP's view patriotic indoctrination has sound objective reasons based on the reality of the contemporary world as a series of national communities, states and peoples more and more emphatically asserting their desire for free and independent development. These uplifting ideals are achieved through every people's effort under their particular historical, national and social conditions. It is only by observance of every people's independence and their national, material and cultural values that their free development and the whole world's peaceful future can be secured. This brings out the dialectical relationship between patriotism and international solidarity, as well as the need of developing friendly collaboration among all peoples on equal terms for their mutual benefit and the cause of peace and international understanding.

PAMFIL NICHITELEA: The RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works thoroughly substantiate the concept of revolutionary socialist patriotism and the role of

patriotism in forming socialist awareness. In the party secretary general's thinking, the fatherland and patriotism have an objective determination. In a period when fatherlands as distinct entities formed over the centuries are still the main prerequisite for every people's existence and development and will continue to be for a long time to come, patriotism is the ferment of the peoples' and nations' creative activity. The constantly growing interdependences of the contemporary world strengthen the role of the nation and the sovereign states in international affairs and bring about the live and creative manifestation of the masses' patriotism. And even further, as it has been said here, while the international contradictions and the policies of force and dictation, of allotment and reallocation of spheres of influence, and of interference in other states' internal affairs are becoming more pronounced, patriotic feeling becomes a powerful weapon of the peoples in their struggle in defense of their national existence and on behalf of world peace and security, and it is indispensable to their socioeconomic, political and cultural development.

ELENA FLOREA: We are seeing the proliferation in the West of doctrines and theories designed to foster the idea and the hope that the "order of things," that is the order established and desired for itself by capitalism, will survive the present crisis and will be restored upon elimination of a few "obstacles," namely the existence of distinct, sovereign and independent national economies, on the economic level, the development of national cultures and awareness, on the cultural-intellectual level, and retention of sovereignty by the national states on the political level.

Upon probing the substance of this "global" or "planetary" ideology we find that the solution to the so-called "real and thorny problems" of the present period is allegedly to establish a supernational and superstate "global community," to do away with the historical existence of the fatherlands, and to suppress patriotic feeling, relegating contemporary man to what the supporters of this ideology call the "planetary fatherland." In their view the latter would be a kind of "colossus" resulting from the "absorption of the national fatherlands" and their fusion into a "single whole" or "single world" of "planetary dimensions." The "planetary fatherland" would be "the new natural and social environment" of contemporary man and especially of future man, "new," according to "planetarism," not in the strictly physical or geographic sense because the earth is the same, finished and unexpandable, but "new" in the sense of a "vast factory" that is the world society, based upon a logic of the world order other than the present one "based upon independent sovereignties embodied in the nation-states." This "other logic" would be "that of globality." On the emotional level, this "new" would take the form of "another kind" of patriotism that could be designated by expressions like "global" or "world patriotism." Consequently "planetarism" calls for a real battle to be fought in order to "replace the patriotic identity" with a "global and planetary identity" and promote "planetary awareness" and "loyalty to the planetary fatherland."

By disseminating such ideas, the "global" theories are intended to manipulate public opinion, disorient the masses and alienate them from their legitimate and natural feelings of love of their fatherland, ancestral soil and country.

ANDRIS ALEXE: In the foreign social-political literature, various "global" theories give credence to the idea that fatherland and patriotism have reached the

"limit" of their historical evolution and regard them as having become "incompatible" with the requirements of progress and "too narrow" in scope for the proportions and dimensions of the civilization generated by the scientific-technical revolution. Those arguments are ultimately intended to replace the values of patriotism with those of a backward, antipatriotic and transnational viewpoint. But these views are refuted by the whole evolution of the contemporary world and by the fact that today patriotic awareness is not only not proving to be in decline, "anachronistic" or "outmoded" but is, on the contrary, asserting itself more and more as a major motive force for every nation's progress as well as that of all mankind and as a vital factor in the peoples' struggle for peace, international collaboration, and a new world economic and political order.

ELENA FLOREA: Historical evolution as a whole proves that men's and peoples' deep attachment to their fatherlands does not denote any "regression" whatever as the "global" or "planetary" theorists maintain but, on the contrary, it is in and through the fatherland that continuity and permanence are secured in the succession of societies and historical forms of human communities. Moreover without this permanence, continuity and stability civilizations, cultures and the true values could not endure, while the structural unity of humanity and the very unity of the general features of historical progress and the extraordinarily diverse types and forms in which it is manifested and achieved would be impossible.

The "planetary" or "global" ideology reflects the interests of the reactionary imperialist circles and distorts the purpose of human action. The fundamental processes of the present period unquestionably indicate that human action must be oriented to fight, both within each fatherland and on the international level, for a better life, for abolition of social and national oppression, for a new order in the world, for cessation of the armaments race and the start of disarmament, for observance of every people's sovereignty and independence, and for the democratic solution of mankind's global problems, and not to tear and alienate people and groups from their history, from the peoples to whom they belong, and from their national values or to obstruct their unrestricted development within a free and independent fatherland of their own. Human action in our period is and should be directed toward understanding of the world problems that are arising, toward greater responsibility for all that is happening in the world and firmer disapproval of all that is threatening the freedom of the peoples, the security of the fatherlands, and the peace of mankind, and toward defense of one's own national interests and every people's right to have a fatherland and to develop in freedom within it, to advance and cultivate their own national values, to make their own country prosperous by their creative work and to raise it to new heights of progress and civilization.

MARIA COBIANU BACANU: As contrasted with the unscientific ideas of "globalism," the RCP feels that fatherland and patriotism have an objective determination and are the results of a profoundly progressive historical process, as it has already been pointed out here. Consequently patriotic indoctrination is also a long-term objective necessity originating in the regular requirements of social development.

The concept of a fatherland denotes the natural, social, political and cultural environment wherein every people has developed, lives and struggles, achieving their ideals and creating their own history and their own material and intellectual culture. Geographically, the concept of a fatherland refers to the land inhabited by a people, to the country where someone was born and of which he is

a citizen, to his native soil and to the place of origin with which he is identified and which he represents in his relations with others. Socially and culturally, I think the concept of a fatherland refers to the way of life characteristic of a people or group, or the language, culture, traditions and material and intellectual values created by the contributions of all the successive generations throughout history. Humanly, the fatherland is embodied in the masses and the working people, who are the sole and true bearers of the most advanced interests of society. For the workers, the fatherland is the environment, with its entire natural, social, economic, political and cultural content, wherein they fulfill their ideals and aspirations to betterment, freedom, justice and happiness.

Patriotism, the feeling of love of country and people, has deep historical roots. For us Romanians the fatherland and patriotism are identified with awareness of the age-old existence of the Romanian people in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area. Of course patriotism has an ideological aspect too, meaning the system of concepts and categories with which the events of national history and the social, political and cultural values and traditions are explained and evaluated.

PAMFIL NICHITULEA: Like the fatherland, patriotism is a composite social-historical phenomenon. The fatherland is the given ethnic-natural, political and cultural framework wherein the life of a people is led, but not as an ahistorical, timeless existence in itself. I think the true image of a fatherland calls for interpretation of its content as a process, as history properly speaking. For the Romanian people, the fatherland comprises in a single whole its socialist present and its bright communist future as well as its historic past or what Nicolae Balcescu called "a nation's first book." Essentially patriotism is a series of feelings and acts of awareness, convictions, attitudes and behavior in regard to national traditions and progress.

The historical and dialectical-materialist conception insisted on interpretation of the concepts of a people, fatherland and patriotism in terms of social determinism. Among the masses every social category, intentionally or not, has its own patriotic feeling and patriotic awareness or attitude, interpreting the fatherland according to its objective position. Historical experience shows that the concepts of a fatherland and patriotism change essentially in various historical periods and social systems in accordance with the roles of the various social classes and categories, their evolutions, and the general and specific problems and interests that they perceive, defend and promote.

MARIA LUPU: In the societies based on exploitation and oppression the ruling classes usually identify the concepts of fatherland and patriotism with the social system that secures and satisfies their class interests and privileges, while the progressive classes have always associated it with the struggle for national freedom, independence and revolutionary reform. Even if the patriotism of the exploiting classes has manifested itself in actions coinciding with the masses' interests in a number of questions in certain periods (some of such vital importance as the struggles for unification of the nations and national states, for sovereignty and independence, for peace and against fascism and war), it is inevitably limited by the social structures based on exploitation and oppression, while the patriotism of the masses has always played a consistently progressive role, stimulating the struggles for full freedom and independence, for radical

revolutionary reforms, for abolition of any social or national injustices, and for a new, better and more just society.

Once the working class appeared in the historical arena, a new and revolutionary conception of social organization and relations was developed. The working class became the promoter of the peoples' struggle for a social system without oppressive classes and a society based upon socialist ownership of the production means, upon profoundly democratic principles of social management and organization, and upon socialist principles of distribution.

Created as a revolutionary political force of the working class, the RCP improved upon the best traditions of the Romanian people's struggle for social and national liberation and organized and led the workers' fight for national freedom, prosperity and progress. The achievement of the new order and the start of construction of the fully developed socialist society in Romania also marked a new and higher stage in the development of the masses' patriotism and in the fully knowledgeable effort toward self-determination. Social organization on a socialist basis is the framework for forming and developing socialist patriotism with a new content and a priority on patriotic awareness of the need of defending, consolidating and developing the people's revolutionary gains, the integrity, independence and sovereignty of the socialist fatherland, and the battle for ever higher levels of the fatherland's progress and civilization and for the triumph of socialism and communism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this connection, "There is a close unity between socialism and patriotism. We cannot speak of socialism without patriotism, which means the effort toward one's own people's liberation and well-being. Meanwhile under the present and future circumstances patriotism cannot be truly implemented without complete national and social liberation or without building the socialist society."

FRANCISC UNGVARI: To be sure patriotism can be interpreted as the close and lasting bond between every individual and his fatherland. But that relationship is not simple or invariable but complex, manifold and evolving. It is a tie that is at once psychological-emotional and ideological-theoretical. It is moreover a feeling and an idea that pertain both to awareness and to action, to the individual and to a social group or community. Patriotism pervades and is reflected in all that we feel and think, in the way we live and work, and in every attitude we take toward various problems, situations and events. And I think patriotism is also reflected in the way the workers relate to each other regardless of nationality, and in the way they understand and respect each other, become friends and collaborate and cooperate in the common and united effort to further the common fatherland's progress and civilization. In speaking of the need of forming the revolutionary patriotic awareness of all citizens regardless of nationality, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 that, "Under any circumstances we must all serve the people, the fatherland, the socialist and communist cause and its freedom and independence! Here in Romania the workers regardless of nationality will create their new and free life closely united under the RCP's political leadership and in full equality and brotherhood. Let us build communism here together!"

#### Requirements of Patriotic Education in the Present Stage of Development

MARIA COBIANU BACANU: I think socialist patriotism denotes the point in formation of the new man at which he acquires the values and ideals of socialism



concerning the fatherland and nation and makes them motives for action and participation with a higher potential in the task of building the new society.

Being based upon the revolutionary ideology of the working class, socialist patriotism is a militant patriotism, demanding the sustained creative efforts of of all workers and the entire people to carry out the party policy of all-around development of the fatherland. The party acquires solidity and permanence in that way and enhances its mobilizing capacity. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "To be a patriot and to love your country means to do everything to increase the national wealth and socialist property and to spare nothing to implement the Communist Party policy, which fully serves the vital interests of the nation as a whole."

In the light of the above-mentioned characteristics, I believe socialist patriotism can be defined as profoundly humanistic, revolutionary and committed. In its characteristics socialist patriotism is a synthesis of the moral-political values of the new order that is emerging as a fundamental trait of the new man, a dedicated and purposeful builder of socialist and communist society.

ANDRIS ALEXE: According to the documents of the 13th Party Congress, the revolutionary conception of the working class and historical and dialectical materialism are central to the workers' patriotic indoctrination, as well as the Party Ideological Program drafted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and ratified by the high forum of Romanian communists as an integral part of the RCP Program. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the report to the congress, "We must base the whole activity permanently on the revolutionary dialectical-materialist conception and scientific socialism, the science of revolutionary world reform."

The advancement of revolutionary socialist patriotism is the result of a comprehensive and continuous process calling for the combined efforts of all educational elements, namely the party organs and organizations, the mass and public organizations, the educational system, the press, radio and TV, literature and art, cinema, political-ideological education, the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival, the family etc. All these elements both separately and jointly influence and effectively contribute to the workers' indoctrination in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism.

The workers' patriotic indoctrination is effected and love of and devotion to Romania's past, present and future is fostered in close connection with active participation in the performance of production tasks and in the country's entire social-political activity, so that work, useful social activity, and exemplary fulfillment of professional and public obligations are central to that activity. Active participation in the general effort toward national social and economic development is the main patriotic duty of every Romanian citizen.

In the present period the Romanian people are showing their patriotism first of all by sustained efforts toward all-around development of the socialist fatherland. Every worker is expected to do his duty purposefully, selflessly and with a high sense of patriotic responsibility primarily at his place of work, with the firm conviction that it is in that way alone that he contributes to general national prosperity.



Experience tells us that unfortunately some people are still showing tendencies to neglect public property and parasitic tendencies to give society as little as they can and to demand as much as possible from it, placing their individual interests above the major national interests. Hence the need of a critical, aggressive attitude toward any negative manifestations, while fostering a high sense of responsibility for the future and the fatherland's destiny, and of duty to serve the country, the people and the socialist and communist cause without stint.

Patriotic indoctrination of the masses is also effected by the battle against foreign ideology and its influences and by intensive promotion of the revolutionary scientific conception of the working class. Combatting the various ideas and attitudes inherited from the past or injected from abroad is essential to patriotic indoctrination. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his report to the recent party congress, we must not forget that "Not all citizens have definitely broken with the attitudes and practices of the past," or that "All kinds of influences foreign to the Romanian revolutionary conception of the world and life keep coming in from outside."

PAMFIL NICHITELEA: Of course patriotism and patriotic indoctrination are not to be interpreted abstractly as mere theoretical concepts, but as practical requirements. They have profound and extensive effects upon social activity, stimulating the workers' and the nation's creative efforts toward further growth of the national income and cultural development. Accordingly, patriotic indoctrination must be closely involved in exemplary fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress. As we know, the congress approved the historic decision to firmly carry on the policy of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism. To attain this vital goal of the next five-year plan, special emphasis will be placed upon development of the productive forces, their harmonious allocation throughout Romania, improvement of social and production relations on a new basis, and scientific, educational and cultural development. Accomplishment of the tasks set by the congress will strengthen the nation's economic power, improve the entire people's quality of life, and consolidate national sovereignty and independence. And it goes without saying that the steady, creative work and concerted efforts of the workers and the entire Romanian people toward exemplary fulfillment of the aims and tasks set by the great forum of the Romanian communists graphically reflect the advance of revolutionary socialist patriotism.

MARIA LUPU: The documents of the 13th RCP Congress and Nicolae Ceausescu's report contain a wealth of ideas vital to improvement of the whole socialist indoctrination effort to meet the demands of Romania's current developmental stage. I refer especially to the idea that political-ideological work is expected to contribute actively to promotion of a creative scientific conception that will help the workers understand the course of events, the progress of the revolutionary process, and the fact that socialist construction may meet with difficulties and obstacles and that establishment of the political power of the working class does not solve the problems automatically or automatically lead to implementation of the principles of socialist society. Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly analysis of the present developmental stage of Romanian society shows that a number of contradictions in certain socioeconomic sectors must be overcome and resolved in order to attain the goals of the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan. I think this realistic, dialectical conception of socialism capable of bringing out the

most effective ways, means and measures to improve all structures and relations in Romanian socialist society, can enhance the workers' patriotism and their creative efforts toward national progress. I am also thinking of the idea, repeatedly affirmed by the RCP, of basing the all-around development of socialist society primarily upon domestic forces, an idea reflected in the orientation of Romania's future development in such priority directions as energy independence, development of the role and contribution of Romanian science and technology in the nation's all-around progress, improvement of organization and management of all socioeconomic activity on the basis of the new economic-financial mechanism, completion of the new agrarian revolution, and development of education, science and culture. I believe all these guide patriotic indoctrination toward clear and specific objectives that will greatly advance the general effort to build the new society.

LIANA IONESCU: The very rich content of patriotism lends a composite character to the formation and development of patriotic awareness and, as it has been said here, the efforts of many educational elements have been combined and finalized to that end. An important part in this is played by the schools and education on all levels, which are expected to train a bold revolutionary youth, a fearless fighter for defense of the nation's interests, for consolidation of national independence, and for peace. In their turn the press, radio and TV, in pointing out the Romanian people's labor and results in socialist construction, can and must make a more and more active contribution to development of national pride and to firm opposition to backward situations and ideas or any violations of the laws and standards of social coexistence.

EUGENIA STEFAN: The documents of the 13th RCP Congress assign an important role in patriotic indoctrination to culture and intellectual creativeness, which are called upon to make particular contributions to further growth of the people's intellectual life through highly humanistic works bearing a militant patriotic message and to enlistment of the workers in the effort to build socialist and communist society. In the last few years literature and the arts have produced new and valuable works which, by virtue of their subject matter, artistic skill, and their patriotic and humanistic message, have made an important contribution to the whole cultural-educational effort to uplift the masses awareness, to refinement of the human being, and to formation of the new intellectuality of socialist society.

As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his report to the congress, the Romanian people's work and life must be the creators' main inspiration, and literature and art must be imbued with a more militant, patriotic and revolutionary spirit and the high ideals of socialist humanism. To this end the artistic output contributes to development of all citizens' revolutionary patriotic spirit and their love of country, party and socialist progress by reflecting the saga of the builders of socialism, who have brought Romanian up to high peaks of progress and civilization in a brief historical period, the heroism of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the whole turbulent effort toward revolutionary national reform, as the party secretary general pointed out.

LIANA IONESCU: An outstanding part in the patriotic indoctrination of people and the young generation is played by study and knowledge of national history and the glorious past of the people's struggle, cultivation of the revolutionary traditions of the working class and the Communist Party, determination of the constants of national history, and knowledge of the Romanian people's origin.

continuity, struggles and creative work in their ancestral land. History has both an informative role and great formative-educational potentials, since past experience is an eternal guide to the present and future.

PAMFIL NICHITELEA: Certainly history, constantly guided by the spirit of truth, can and should serve as a powerful weapon of international friendship, solidarity, collaboration and peace in our times. It is increasingly clear that history is vitally important in eradicating the sources of distrust and animosity created among peoples over the years, just as it is equally clear that attempts to distort and falsify history do not serve the cause of international friendship and understanding or that of progress and peace in the world. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Joint Session of Hungarian and German Workers Councils, this fact must be emphasized particularly because there are a number of falsifiers of history today who are repeating the most reactionary theories of bourgeois imperialist historiography. Sometimes they even extol the former empires, including the policy of domination and oppression of other peoples. The most reactionary imperialist, neofascist and Horthyite circles are flying the flag of revanchism and irredentism again and jeopardizing the peoples' peace and security.

Accordingly it is the highest duty and responsibility of historians to resolutely oppose the backward theories and ideas of bourgeois historiography by firmly distancing themselves from them and bringing out all that was better in the past. As the party secretary general said, in order to perform its equally important functions of knowledge and education, history must cultivate "all that is and has been in common in collaboration among peoples and especially neighboring peoples. Let us work for a new history of collaboration and friendship and, for the socialist countries, a history of socialist and communist construction in common! That is the history that brings true equality of rights, the history we need for the victory of socialism and peace."

MIHAI ARSENE: By bringing out the people's progressive traditions, political-educational work and patriotic indoctrination present the new realities of Romanian society and the notable progress made under party leadership, in the years since the victory of the August 1944 revolution and especially since the Ninth Party Congress, in revolutionary national reform and in changing the people's whole way of life, as well as the new and bright prospects opened up by the 13th RCP Congress for more and more intensive development of free and independent Romania. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his report to the congress, "Political-educational work must consistently stress the Romanian people's great progress in socialist construction and the superiority of the socialist way of life and of the principles of socialist ethics and justice and equality of rights among all Romanian citizens."

Patriotism has always been the finest quality of the human personality and patriotic indoctrination an activity ennobled by the desire to train worthy citizens to serve the fatherland and society in which they live and work. As Nicolae Ceausescu said on this subject, it is the duty of the party organs and organizations to see that patriotic indoctrination is sound and to direct and manage it uniformly, so that theoretical, ideological, political-educational and cultural-artistic work will even further develop all workers' sense of responsibility for the present and future of the fatherland. In that way the development of patriotic awareness will become more and more pronounced as an integral part of socialist and communist construction.

## Let Us Love and Defend the Common Romanian Fatherland!

MARIA COBIANU BACANU: The correct minorities policy of the RCP and the Romanian workers revolutionary state is of vital importance to development of socialist patriotism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th RCP Congress, "We have solved the minorities problem forever in Romania, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception and the principles of scientific socialism, guaranteeing all Romanian citizens equal rights."

Socialist patriotism also includes the way all inhabitants of the country regardless of nationality coexist, work and relate to each other in the common fatherland, as well as their awareness that they all form a single family building the same fatherland and the same destiny in fully equal and friendly collaboration. Hence also the requirement to indoctrinate all workers in the spirit of friendship, unity, collaboration and mutual respect.

FRANCISC UNGVARI: The RCP considers solution of the minorities problem inseparable from revolutionary social reform and construction of the new order. The series of economic, social, political and cultural changes in Romania under socialism has created favorable conditions for radical change in the position of all workers regardless of nationality and the structure needed for development of the entire people's patriotic awareness and advancement of their creative powers on behalf of the common fatherland's prosperity. In this connection, the conversion of the country into an industrial-agrarian state with a strong modern industry and a fully developing socialist agriculture and the new prospects of progress and welfare opened up to Romania by the great goals set by the 13th RCP Congress for socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and on to the year 2000 are the foundation from which the patriotism of all those who live and work in socialist Romania derives its hardihood and strength. For the socialist patriotism and high patriotic awareness of the builders of the new society would not be viable or influential if it were not based upon the notable previous achievements as well as the bold objectives the Romanian people have set themselves in order to bring the fatherland up to new levels of progress and civilization and attain an ever higher standard of material and cultural welfare.

ELENA FLOREA: In the course of socialist revolution and construction the RCP has brought about the solution of the minorities problem and full equality of rights, harmonious cooperation, brotherhood and solidarity of all workers regardless of nationality in the common work and struggle for social and national freedom and justice, for the entire people's progress and prosperity, and for the socialist cause. Solution of the minorities problem is accordingly a result of all the revolutionary changes made in Romania during the years of socialist revolution and construction.

The solution of the minorities problem is basic to abolition of any social or national exploitation; establishment of the political power of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the other categories of urban and rural workers; the broad democratic rights and freedoms granted to all citizens regardless of nationality, including the rights to education, a press and printing, cultural-artistic activity, use of the mother tongue in all fields, and creation of the material conditions necessary for the actual exercise of all those rights and freedoms; economic and cultural-intellectual living and working conditions that are equal for all workers regardless of nationality; application of the

principles of socialist ethics and justice throughout society; and development of collaboration, unity and mutual respect among all Romanian citizens.

In summing up the nature of the Romanian solution of the minorities problem, the party secretary general said that socialism alone accomplishes the true equality of all workers, provides the broadest democratic rights and freedoms, and makes the full equality of all citizens possible. Extensive development of workers revolutionary democracy creates a new and unique organizational structure for all workers' increasingly active participation in organization and management of all socioeconomic activity.

LADISLAU GERGELY: The RCP and the state based their solution of the minorities problem on the historical truth that despite the divisive policy of provocation pursued in the past by the reactionary circles and exploiting classes, long coexistence in the same are, the common effort and struggle for social justice and progress, and common aspirations to create a better and more worthy life in freedom brought about solidarity and brotherhood among all workers regardless of nationality, while the entire Romanian people's unity, emerging as a noteworthy constant of Romanian history, was an important factor in the struggle for social and national justice, freedom and social progress.

The years of socialist revolution and construction marked a new and qualitatively higher stage in the process of cementing the friendly unity of all Romanian citizens. Consistent implementation of the RCP policy of solving the minorities problem on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception did away with any discrimination, established the full equality of rights of all workers regardless of nationality, created the objective conditions necessary for all Romanian citizens to enjoy the benefits of socialism to the same extent, and forged a new unity based upon both their common economic, social and political experience and upon their common ideology and morality and the revolutionary working-class conception of the world and life. In this way the united efforts of the entire people created a common fatherland, in which we are building the most just society, the socialist and communist society.

The problems of all the workers regardless of nationality are solved with the general progress of Romanian society, and as the problems of socioeconomic development are solved. This illustrates the correctness of the RCP policy of providing equal living and working conditions for all Romanian citizens and fully meeting the material and cultural needs of all workers regardless of nationality. Therefore we must firmly oppose any attempts to distort the solid and friendly coexistence that has lasted for centuries in these regions. We Romanian citizens of another nationality who were born and work in this country feel inseparably bound by our vital aspirations and ideals to socialist Romania, the common fatherland, and here we labor and strive in full equality and brotherhood to make a new and happier life under party leadership. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Regardless of our parents' origin we have a common origin in a fatherland where we were born. We must all learn and speak a single language, the language of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception. Let us learn to love and defend our common fatherland!"

EUGENIA STEFAN: On the basic premise that equality of rights depends primarily upon further socioeconomic development of the country as a whole, the RCP and

state have been emphasizing rational allocation of the productive forces throughout Romania. To this effect, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Joint Session of Hungarian and German Workers Councils that "Intensive development of the productive forces and harmonious allocation of industry and other activities in all counties and areas are among the great achievements that play a decisive part in securing full equality of rights. This has created the best conditions for securing the right to work and for mastery of the most advanced disciplines of modern science and technology."

The RCP's policy of harmonious development of the productive forces throughout the country has been greatly expanded in the period since the Ninth Party Congress. This political policy is emphatically reaffirmed in the documents of the 13th Party Congress and especially in Nicolae Ceausescu's report. The goals set by the congress for Romania's socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and on to the year 2000 call for intensive socioeconomic of all counties and localities and of the nation as a whole as well as a higher standard of civilization for all regions and localities of Romania. This will provide new and increasingly extensive opportunities to develop the personalities, skills and talents of all workers.

FRANCISC UNGVARI: Consistent implementation of the RCP's policy on the minorities problem has produced a patriotism based upon full equality and proved by the great progress made by all the workers and the entire people under party leadership in successful socialist construction and general national development. It is a patriotism encouraged by the awareness of all the workers in Romania regardless of nationality that they have vital interests in common. It is a patriotism inspired by the deep conviction that it is only by their united efforts that the further progress of the new society, based on equality and social and national justice, can be secured. It is a patriotism springing from awareness of the existence of just one fatherland, wherein every one of its sons can find opportunities to develop his personality and his creative capacities. Revolutionary socialist patriotism, love of the common fatherland, and the will to devote all powers and energies to it are strong bonds of awareness and vital cohesive factor for the unity of the Romanian socialist nation.

Accordingly the documents of the 13th RCP Congress and especially Nicolae Ceausescu's report to it fully substantiate the need of strengthening the unity and friendship of all workers regardless of nationality and developing their patriotic awareness as an essential component of their revolutionary socialist awareness and their sense of responsibility, as free sons with equal rights of a common fatherland, for its present and future, as well as well as their pride in citizenship in a free, independent and sovereign country building socialist society, the society of social and national equality and justice. That requires a determined opposition to any instances of nationalism, chauvinism, racism or anti-Semitism and to imperialist and reactionary propaganda, which is intended to undermine the unity of Romanian society by means of chauvinism in more or less new forms.

LADISLAU GERGELY: The facts show that socialism has been securing the full equality of rights of all citizens regardless of nationality in Romania. The right to work and equal pay for equal work is guaranteed, as well as the right to education and free instruction for all youths of the fatherland. I would stress the point here that the intensive cultural-artistic activity in Romania

is making the entire people's cultural development possible. Amateur art, folk art, and the popular creative work of all Romanian citizens are undergoing an unprecedented development at the National Cîntarea României Festival.

Meanwhile extensive development of revolutionary workers democracy is involving all workers regardless of nationality in management of the economy and of society as a whole and in preparation and application of the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies. The Socialist Unity and Democracy Front reflects the entire people's lasting unity around the RCP, the leading political force of Romanian socialist society. Experience shows that it is only in close unity that the workers in these regions have achieved the revolutionary reform of Romanian society, the victory of socialism, and the consolidation of the new order in the years of socialist construction, and it is only in close unity here on Romanian soil that they will be able to secure their welfare, happiness and a worthy position among the peoples of the world in the future as well.

FRANCISC UNGVARI: Relations of unity and friendship develop and advance as relations of a profoundly socialist nature on the basis of real and effective equality, political, economic, social and cultural, and the all-around development of the common fatherland. I think the main factors that lend a new and better content to the unity and friendship of all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality are real and complete social equality, unity of vital interests, cooperation in all activities, common efforts to develop the fatherland, awareness that all we do is for the entire people's benefit, mutual respect among all workers, and the RCP's realistic scientific policy for mobilizing all workers' creative energies to accomplish their common goals of socialist and communist construction in Romania.

LADISLAU GERGELY: The unity of the Romanian socialist nation and the strong weld of all Romanian citizens' awareness are based on those fundamental facts. Of course they are facts that do not convince the reactionary imperialist circles, who resort in their hatred of socialism to a number of political and ideological diversions and misinformation of the masses and the workers designed to compromise the historic achievements of the Romanian people and the peoples of the socialist countries. To that end those circles calumniate Romania, present its realities in a false and disparaging light, and distort the RCP's policy, on the minorities problem especially, in the attempt to inculcate nationalist, chauvinist and irredentist ideas and to incite the workers of different nationalities. Such attempts are the game of the reactionary imperialist circles, who are united today as in the past against the peoples' revolutionary movement and are conspiring to oppress them regardless of nationality. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the most reactionary circles, "in their hatred for socialism, are uniting right now regardless of nationality and they are employing every kind of diversion, but they have just one purpose, namely to compromise socialist construction and socialism and to divert their peoples from transition to a better and more just system and the classless society."

The Romanian people and the workers regardless of nationality firmly reject these attempts intended to compromise the unity of the Romanian socialist nation, a unity won by hard battles and endless sacrifices that is the fruit of Romania's entire history. For our unshakable unity is our most precious possession, along with the independence it strengthens and upon which it rests. In the



spirit of this unity the Romanian people, by consistently implementing the party policy and the bold objectives for national socioeconomic development set by the 13th RCP Congress and by securing Romania's steady rise to new heights of progress and civilization, give the clearest and most emphatic answer to all those who fail for any reason to clearly see their historic gains and the great achievements of all the fatherland's sons in building the new order, inspired by the same ideals.

MIHAI ARSENE: Attempts are sometimes made to accredit the theory that parties or governments of other countries should concern themselves with the minorities problems of a given country. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the Speech at the Joint Session of Hungarian and German Workers Councils, "Those theories have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary conception. They are foreign theories emanating from the reactionary circles, regardless of what they are called, or expressing ideas of the most reactionary circles, who are looking for ways to interfere in other peoples' affairs or to impede a given people's progress, or at least to place difficulties in the way of their development."

Solving the problems of construction and further development of the new order, including the minorities problem, is the sole and sovereign attribute of each state. No one has the right to interfere in another country's internal affairs on any pretext. Just as the Romanian party and state do not give lessons or formulas for other countries' socioeconomic development, neither do they accept any kind of lessons on Romanian domestic and foreign policy or how to solve the minorities problem. All problems of Romanian society, as components of the development of the social-political system in Romania, are and will be solved by the RCP and the state on the basis of the revolutionary dialectical-materialist conception of scientific socialism.

Experience shows that the realities of the contemporary world and the problems of national sovereignty and integrity are vital to successful socialist construction, development of international collaboration, and to promotion of a policy of peace and social progress. According to this view the RCP and the state have been widely developing collaboration with all the socialist countries, the neighboring countries, and all states of the world regardless of their social systems on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

ELENA FLOREA: In addition to those discussed here, indoctrination of all workers in the spirit revolutionary working-class ideology, the RCP policy and the traditions of unity and friendship at work and in the common struggle for a better life is an essential component of the solution of the minorities problem. I think this component consists of the following main elements brought out by the 13th RCP Congress, namely categorical rejection of all attempts to disparage the Romanian people's great progress and the party's and state's correct minorities policy; opposition to nationalism and chauvinism; the need of explaining to the workers the content and principles of the minorities policy and the ways the RCP brought about the solution of the minorities problem in Romania, and of demonstrating convincingly the superiority of the socialist way of life and of the principles of socialist ethics and justice and equality of rights among all Romanian citizens; development and cultivation of the strong feeling of love for the common fatherland, the Socialist Republic of Romania; and indoctrination of



all workers regardless of nationality in the spirit of revolutionary socialist patriotism, responsibility and dedication to the people and their revolutionary gains, and determination to fight and work for socialist and communist construction, for further improvement of the people's material and cultural welfare, and in defense of Romania's revolutionary gains, independence and sovereignty.

LADISLAU GERGELY: The patriotism of the workers in Romania is graphically illustrated by the creative and constructive effort to keep developing the common fatherland by the labor of all its sons. I would also note that revolutionary socialist patriotism calls for a greater sense of social responsibility, because every citizen has equal rights but also equal obligations to the common fatherland and its freedom and independence.

The notable progress made by the Romanian people in building the new order and the bright future promised by the great goals set by the 13th Party Congress for the beginning of a higher stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism inspire the true feeling of joy and patriotic pride that enhances development of creative powers, freely given dedication, and total commitment to the development and prosperity of every corner of the country, for the benefit and happiness of all citizens of our common fatherland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

#### Dialectical Relationship Between Patriotism and International Solidarity

EUGENIA STEFAN: In the RCP's view patriotism is closely and harmoniously combined with international solidarity and with the constructive spirit of cooperation and collaboration with other states and nations. The two principles form a dialectical unity in both awareness and politics, while the indoctrination of patriotic awareness also objectively requires reinforcement of the spirit of militant solidarity. And so, as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the Report to the 13th RCP Congress, in all political-ideological work "We must always dialectically combine indoctrination and development of socialist patriotism with the spirit of international solidarity and friendship in the effort toward socioeconomic progress, collaboration and peace in the world!"

LIANA IONESCU: Actually revolutionary patriotism and international solidarity are correlated in the accomplishment of the socialist and communist ideals. This dialectical interdependence stems from the very nature of the two concepts. In the RCP's view, to be a patriot means to love your fatherland and also to militate actively for friendship with all peoples of the world in the struggle for revolutionary social reform and the triumph of the cause of international collaboration and peace, while respecting other peoples' national feelings and their freedom and independence. In this sense patriotism cannot be described in any way as national narrowness or contrasted with international solidarity and friendship.

CALIN VALSAN: I think it is also very important to stress the national-international relationship in connection with the subject we are discussing. The national is based upon the existence of the peoples, the national communities, as distinct and independent entities. The international embodies the general characteristics of society, what is in common, and what necessarily recurs in society organized in nations. The nation, as a higher form of a human community, is

the prerequisite upon which the relations among nations and peoples are established and developed. Since they operate through nations, international affairs cannot exist apart from them and can develop only as nations develop.

While the national and international are categories of the objective process of social development, patriotism and international solidarity are categories of ideology and politics. Unity of patriotism and solidarity ultimately originates in the objective dialectical unity of the national and international and reflects that unity accordingly on the political level.

In the spirit of dialectical correlation of patriotism with international solidarity, the RCP velieves the best performance of the tasks of socialist construction by the working class and the entire people and the successes of every country in building the new order and in enhancing its economic strength and its people's welfare are of an equal national and international importance, since those successes enrich the common fund of revolutionary experience, and each one contributes in its own way to the development and consolidation of socialism in the world.

In all its correlations and in its dialectical unity, the national-international relationship cannot be viewed as one of subordination of the national to the international, wherein the international is the essential and the critical element in the revolutionary process, and the national is the "secondary" or "subordinate" element. Actually the national and international are in an objective dialectical relationship of interaction.

PAMFIL NICHITELEA: In a certain period of the workers movement there was a tendency to dogmatically and one-sidedly absolutize the theory formulated in the Manifesto the Communist Party to the effect that the history of human society is the history of class struggles, overlooking or even evading the role of the national factor and the sovereign national state in historical development. The theory that "proletarians have no fatherland" was absolutized in the same way, explaining the disregard of patriotic indoctrination, underestimate of national interests, and interference in other peoples' internal affairs. But a careful analysis of the phenomena and processes of social development can bring out the dialectical unity of the social with the national and the fact that actually the social exists and operates in and through the national. History attests to the truth that in forms corresponding to each stage, the class struggles against social exploitation as well as national oppression have been important motive forces for revolutionary reforms and mankind's progress.

Experience and history also show that development of patriotism as a powerful force for the peoples' social and national development is also an important factor for strengthening international solidarity. As Nicolae Ceausescu says in the Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982, "Development of national pride must be closely associated with development of friendship with other peoples and of the Romanian workers' friendship, cooperation and coexistence with the workers of different nationalities in Romania. To this end national pride and socialist patriotism must become factors for consolidation of the Romanian people's unity and international collaboration with all nations of the world."

In this view, strengthening the nation and the independent national state and developing every socialist state actively help to strengthen international solidarity and relations of collaboration and solidarity based on respect for independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, and noninterference in internal affairs. In its turn strengthened solidarity among nations helps to develop each nation and national state, to create favorable conditions for each people's creative expression, and to consolidate the forces of world peace and progress.

LADISLAU GERGELY: As contrasted with social systems based on exploitation and oppression, socialism provides a new basis for harmonious interaction between the national and international factors and between socialist patriotism and international solidarity. Therefore it is clear that assertion of national independence and sovereignty and full manifestation of the states are the most productive ways of unleashing the huge material and human potential of the sovereign states and combining their efforts in the accomplishment of the great tasks of militant cooperation and solidarity. In this spirit the RCP and the state and President Nicolae Ceausescu are consistently militating to establish a new international climate, strictly respecting the interests of every people and state in developing independently according to their own national and social conditions and their aspirations and wishes.

LIANA IONESCU: It is to Nicolae Ceausescu's credit that he has developed an innovating conception of international solidarity based on scientific analysis of historical development and the current facts. The conception is in full accord with the basic Marxist principles and it is based upon the dialectical interdependence between national and international interests and between revolutionary patriotism and international solidarity.

Romania and its party and people have rich traditions of solidarity with all the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces and of friendship with all peoples in the struggle for international collaboration and peace and for national independence and social progress. The Romanian workers and socialist movement has advanced from its first beginnings as an active component of the worldwide workers movement, participating in countless actions of solidarity from its presence at the barricades of the Paris Commune to the demonstrations of armed support of the Great October Socialist Revolution of the first socialist state in the world.

Carrying on those traditions, the RCP has combined from its formation the struggle for the claims of the working class and in defense of the nation's interests with unfailing loyalty to the principle of international solidarity. Along with its consistent support of the progressive forces everywhere in the struggle to assert national existence and to win freedom, the RCP has acted on behalf of a broad front of all democratic, antifascist and antiwar forces.

While leading the task of socialist construction in Romania, the RCP has been pursuing a policy of extensive international solidarity and development of friendship and all-around collaboration with the socialist countries, with all peoples and states of the world regardless of social systems, with the communist and workers parties, and with the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces everywhere.

The vital flame of solidarity has acquired a new and bright luster in the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, since the RCP has been headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, an ardent patriot and also a brilliant promoter of international solidarity and unity with advanced forces everywhere and with all peoples of the world, as well as a tireless militant for placing those relations on a new and permanent moral basis. The party secretary general has been making noteworthy contributions to understanding of the role and manifestations of the solidarity of the communist and workers parties, the socialist and social-democratic parties, and the national liberation movements. He has lent a scientific theoretical foundation to the principles of the new kind of unity of the communist parties and worked tirelessly for their application in practice.

CALIN VALSAN: I would stress the point here that the RCP bases its policy of international solidarity on the premise that the nation has far from exhausted its possibilities of development and that it still plays a critical part in social evolution throughout the period of socialist and communist construction. As history and experience have shown, advancement of every socialist nation's independence and their development not only do not conflict with the interests of international collaboration and solidarity but, on the contrary, they are indispensable to consolidation of the strength and unity of the revolutionary struggle and the greater prestige and influence of socialism in the world.

I would particularly stress the fact that in view of the basic truth that socialism and peace are inseparable and that international solidarity inherently includes solidarity with the extensive peace movements, socialist Romania is actively supporting the struggle of the peoples everywhere to stop the armaments race, to eliminate the nuclear threat, and to safeguard peace. Collaboration must be strengthened particularly because of the serious situation by the unprecedented intensification of the armaments race, especially in nuclear weapons, which are menacing all peoples and the very existence of life on earth. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the 13th Party Congress, "We are firmly convinced that if the peoples everywhere act in complete unity they can stop the armaments race,, revive the policy of detente and collaboration, and secure peace in the world."

The RCP's and its secretary general's conception of international solidarity and the RCP's entire international activity are vital contributions to creative development of revolutionary theory and practice and to enrichment of the relations of unity and solidarity among the contemporary revolutionary forces. Reinforcement of this collaboration and solidarity is a historical necessity and it serves the aspirations to peace, friendship and progress of the Romanian people as well as all peoples of the world.

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ROMANIA

## CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON MINORITY ISSUE DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, 10 Feb 85; No 4, 25 Feb 85

[Article by Stefan Rab, first secretary of the Covasna County RCP Committee, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Dr Elena Florea, principal scientific researcher at the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Eduard Eisenburger, chairman of the Council of Working People of German Nationality, Iosif Boda, assistant dean at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Univ Prof Dr Ilie Vaduva, rector of the Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies, Eva Richter, secretary of the Covasna County RCP Committee, Univ Prof Dr Francisc Albert, Timisoara, Irina Szabo, secretary of the party committee at the Sfintu Gheorghe "Oltul" Enterprise, Iuliu Fejes, secretary of the Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality, Univ Prof Dr C. Gh. Marinescu, Iasi, Lt Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army, Col Dr Gheorghe Tudor, deputy director of the Center for Studies and Research on Military History and Theory, Dr Zoltan Szekely, director of the Covasna County Museum and chairman of the County Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality, Albert Kozak, principal museographer at the Covasna County Museum, Prof Dr Docent Iosif Tripsa, state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction, Ladislau Hegedus, state secretary on the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, Ferenc Vasas, chief editor of the newspaper MEGYEI TUKOR, Univ Lect Dr Victor Duculescu, deputy director of the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Univ Prof Dr Docent Alexandru Tanase, and Ilie Gabra, secretary of the Covasna County RCP Committee: "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Conception Regarding the Nation and the National Problem. The Resolution of the National Problem in Socialist Romania"; Parts I and II]

[10 Feb 85 pp 14-28]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu, in the Report to the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party: "In our country we have solved the national problem for good, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception, the principles of scientific socialism, providing full equality in rights to all citizens of the homeland. Regardless of nationality, of the language that we speak, we are all sons of a single homeland, we are all citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania."

On 21-22 January of this year, the symposium on the topic "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Conception Regarding the Nation and the National Problem. The Resolution of the National Problem in Romania," organized by the Covasna County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, was held in Sfintu Gheorghe. University professors, scientific researchers and party and state activists participated in this scientific gathering.

We publish in this issue of the magazine the abridged shorthand record of the first part of the symposium.

#### The Enrichment of Revolutionary Theory and Practice Regarding the Nation and the Resolution of the National Problem

Stefan Rab, first secretary of the Covasna Country RCP Committee: Our scientific gathering is meant to present the conception of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party and chairman of the republic, regarding the nation and the national problem, his contribution of particular theoretical significance and inestimable practical importance to the enrichment of the patrimony of scientific socialism with regard to the methods of completely solving the national problem, the providing of real equality in rights for all the working people, regardless of nationality, in our common homeland, socialist Romania.

Covasna County, whose seat is hosting the present symposium, offers a splendid example of the truly democratic way in which our party has solved the national problem completely and for good on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism.

One of the eternal historical merits of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is that of having put in the forefront of attention, back at the ninth party congress, the problem of the nation and, in this framework, of national relations. Of the many theses contained in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at that historic congress, representing contributions of priceless value to the development and enrichment of revolutionary theory, the one regarding the historical role of the nation has proved to be of great significance. Combating a number of antiscientific, nihilistic theses, the secretary general of the party, with the force of conviction that characterizes him, stressed that both the nation--a complex social-historical category--and the national state are continuing to manifest themselves as active factors in social progress, constitute and will constitute for a long time yet the basis for the development of society.

The experience of the last two decades demonstrates abundantly the soundness and farsightedness of this thesis. The ever upward development of Romanian society has led to the flourishing of the nation, to the strengthening of the unity and brotherhood in the struggle to secure the socialist homeland's multilateral progress along the path of fulfilling the aspirations and ideals of well-being of the whole populace, of all who work, regardless of nationality.

This truth, with a strong echo in the consciousness of the whole populace, has found a striking expression in the policy of balanced distribution of the production forces, of harmonious development of all areas of the country. In this view, with a profoundly humanistic purpose--formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu back at the ninth congress and implemented with exemplary consistency--the criteria of the economic efficiency of the investments have been and are harmoniously associated with those regarding their social and political effects. The prosperity that many counties, once left on the periphery of industrial development, in Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania are now experiencing represents the result of this magnanimous policy.

Allow me, for a few moments, to go back in time to evoke, with natural emotion, a day in June 1967 experienced with intensity by all the inhabitants, Romanian and Hungarian, of this area. On that day in early summer, after a memorable working visit, the secretary general of the party, during an enthusiastic people's assembly, gave instructions regarding the raising of the first industrial platform in this area, the one at Tirgu Secuiesc. Other working visits, just as memorable, and other industrial platforms, just as modern, followed. The principle set down by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--equality, not in poverty, but in well-being and superior accomplishments--was thus being implemented in this area too.

The chance of having a huge amount of investment funds--coming to the impressive figure of over 10 billion lei--in order to demonstrate on the scale of modern industry their skill and energy was thus offered to the inhabitants of Covasna country. They had the privilege of benefiting from the concrete advice given on the spot by the experienced leader of our party and state, which led to the directing of the material and human efforts toward the creation of advanced industrial branches, toward the modernization of agriculture, toward the flourishing of education and culture. Many workplaces were thus created in all spheres of activity, especially in the branches bearing technical progress. This led to the growth of the percentage of the working class, to the raising of the degree of training of the workers in agriculture, to the growth of the ranks of the intelligentsia, especially the technical intelligentsia, called upon to secure the implantation of the gains of contemporary science in the sphere of production activity. The dimensions of these profound changes in the socioprofessional structure of the population and the continual urbanization of the localities of our county constitute a couple of the indisputable effects of the party's policy directed toward the balanced development of all localities of the homeland.

The providing of the economic and social foundations for the exercise of the democratic rights and liberties conferred by the constitution, for the full equality of all citizens of the country--this is one of the truly revolutionary achievements accomplished in the era that, with love and gratitude, our people call by the name dear to all of us--Nicolae Ceausescu. This proves, once again, that in tackling the rights of man our party starts not from formal or side issues of which certain propaganda subsidized by the reactionary circles in the West makes so much capital, but, on the contrary, from the essential issues, which provide the basic rights, the wide and equal access of all citizens to the benefits of modern civilization.

We, those who live and work here, Romanian and Hungarian, are now more united than ever. The long traditions of cohabitation and common struggle against exploitation and oppression, for liberty and justice, are particularly dear to us. Our party and its secretary general have pointed out repeatedly that we must retain from history precisely these traditions. We value to the utmost the brotherhood that has been established in our common work, whose fruits, which we all enjoy, find their full expression in everything that has been accomplished in this area of the homeland, as an integral part of socialist Romania's general progress. The same grand ideals of progress and prosperity and the bright prospects opened up for the whole country by the program of the party and by the historic decisions of the 13th congress inspire all of us.

The Romanian realities offer a great wealth of arguments regarding the exemplary way in which our party has solved the national problem. Consequently, it seems strange to us when some try to give us lessons and to offer us recipes for solving the problems with which our society is faced. We reject and will reject with total firmness and energy any diversion of a political and ideological nature, any calumny, any denigrating presentation of our successes, of the party's policy, including on the national problem. We will allow no one, wherever he may be, to sow the poisonous seed of nationalism and chauvinism, to separate the working people of different nationalities. In the future too, such attempts will run into our unity, demonstrated so many times, the unity of the whole populace around the party and its secretary general--a defining revolutionary gain of contemporary Romanian society.

In an atmosphere of strong creative effervescence, the working people, Romanian and Hungarian, in our county have turned resolutely, under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, to the attainment of the inspiring objectives set by the historic 13th congress.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's judgment according to which the close unity of the whole populace, the complete adherence of all the working people, regardless of nationality, to the policy of the party, is at the foundation of the splendid accomplishments in the years of socialism has had and has a wide echo in the consciousness of all of us. This adherence was also strongly reaffirmed by the recent plenums of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality. In his speech at the joint session of the two councils, the secretary general of the party synthesized brilliantly the glorious realities of the socialist homeland and outlined with revolutionary farsightedness an inspiring work program, scientifically substantiated, meant to orient the entire activity of continually strengthening the brotherhood and unity of the working people in our country, regardless of nationality, their feelings of fervent love and boundless attachment for the common homeland, and the determination to do everything for its multilateral progress and prosperity.

For all that he has done and is doing for the benefit and happiness of our people, the working people, Romanian and Hungarian, in Covasna County pay warm homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the statesman of genius, with whose name and activity the creation of modern Romania, the progress of the homeland along the path of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society, the flourishing of the nation, and the achievement of the solid unity and firm



cohesion of all who work, regardless of nationality, around and under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, are organically connected.

### The Role of the Nation in the Contemporary World

Univ Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: The raising of the nation to new heights of civilization, the resolution of the national problem, for the first time in the country's history, in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the achievement of the indestructible unity of the whole populace, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, around and under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party are found in a prominent place among the great accomplishments of socialism in Romania.

Our party's political line regarding national relations, its positions of principle, the orientations promoted and the practical measures initiated and implemented are guided by a well-knit, profoundly and multilaterally worked-out conception regarding the nation and the national problem. We owe such a conception to the secretary general of the party and chairman of socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. On his initiative and with his decisive contribution, the party has done a huge job of analysis of the realities of our times to decipher and define the processes regarding the nation and the field of national relations, to combat the nihilistic ideas and positions regarding the current situation and the prospects of the nation.

The ninth party congress constitutes a true landmark in this regard too. Through the creative, profoundly innovative spirit inaugurated by this historic congress, through Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's huge theoretical effort, our party has made a scientific contribution of particular significance to the development of revolutionary theory regarding the evolution of the nation and of its role in the contemporary world, to the ways of solving the national problem, to its place in the processes that define the current stage of development of mankind. Such contributions are based on the generalization of contemporary revolutionary practice and the synthesization of contemporary revolutionary experience in the light of the basic principles of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism. On a broader plane, these contributions are concretized in the enrichment and substantial renovation of many basic concepts of the theory of historical progress, in the "updating" of highly significant fields of scientific, revolutionary thought, and the adaptation of it to the requirements of practice.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's major contribution to working out on a contemporary level the concept of nation fits into this framework. I should mention in this regard that the nation is a form of human community, an ethnic and social community, formed in the course of a long historical process, having as characteristics a community of language, of territory, of economic life (materialized in the existence of the economy as a national economy), of culture (concretized in the development of the culture as a national culture) and, in this framework, of consciousness (existing as national consciousness), and a community of state life (manifested in the existence of the national state).

The spirit in which our party's secretary general analyzes the evolution of the nation, the formation and affirmation of the socialist nation, shows that Romanian political thought has in mind the defining of the nation not by a sum of traits but by a set of characteristics, which entails the understanding of the respective traits as a whole, as a system. In other words, for a nation to exist and to manifest itself as such, it needs all of its defining traits. The fact that in a certain stage a nation does not have one or another of its defining traits does not invalidate this characteristic of the concept of nation. On the contrary, a nation in the process of formation, which does not have, for example, a community of state life, tends to form one. However, this tendency toward the formation of the national states has been and still is a necessary, irresistible and profoundly progressive tendency in history.

In the same light, I believe that it is necessary to stress the importance of understanding the role of the community of territory in the nation's formation, existence and affirmation. It is clear that in order to form a nation people who have a common language, who exhibit certain common traits of culture, of psychology and so on, must live together in a common territory. The same thing can be said, I believe, about the importance of the community of economic life in its capacity of a trait of the nation. People have spoken the same language for hundreds of years, sometimes for millennia, have lived on the same territory and still have not formed nations in the modern sense of the concept of nation. They formed nations only when the feudal territorial parceling was surpassed and replaced by the unifying economic factor--the national market--that is, on the transformation of the economy into a national economy.

In close connection with the above, it is necessary to point out that the whole approach by the secretary general of the party to the problems regarding the nation is based on the principle of materialistic determinism. Thus, as regards the appearance of the nation, the Romanian conception holds that the birth of this form of human community was--and, for a huge number of peoples, continues to be--a necessity, a historical requirement. In the case of some countries, the conditions for the transformation of the peoples into nations were met some centuries ago. However, for the immense majority of the peoples, who suffered foreign domination in one form or another, their formation as nations occurred or is occurring later, this presupposing the elimination of foreign domination, the gaining of independence and, in many cases, the creation of the unitary national state following the elimination of foreign domination, the collapse of oppressing empires and so on. The transformation of the peoples into nations is a wholly necessary and progressive phenomenon.

At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's whole conception regarding the evolution and role of the nation now and later starts from the ascertainment of the great diversity of conditions in which nations exist and assert themselves. Indeed, there are nations that, already having a history centuries long, have reached maturity in their economic, scientific, technical and other development. On the other hand, there are young nations, in the middle of the process of formation and of affirmation of their potential for progress. There are then different types of nations, profoundly differentiated by, among other things, the social content that the social and economic structures

impart to some of the characteristic traits of the nations. Thus, there are socialist nations, a result of the radical transformation of society, achieved by carrying out the revolution and the construction of the new order. There are also nations formed within the framework of capitalism that continue to develop within this framework. As regards the nations in the making, which exhibit a great variety of specific, individual traits, the tendencies followed in the process of their formation are determined by the path that the general development of society takes.

In what direction is the nation, which appears in such a great variety of types and forms and is in different stages of development, evolving? What is happening to it and to its role under the current conditions? Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical work gives to these questions a clear and profound answer, well founded from a scientific viewpoint. The quintessence of this answer is that--as the secretary general of the party points out--"we must bear in mind that, for a long time, including the period of the construction of communism, the nation remains an important social-historical category, a basic factor in the progress of society."

In this regard, the thorough study, in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical work, of the content of some traits of the nation under socialism, of the conception regarding the evolution and role of our socialist nation, is of particular importance. According to this conception, socialism takes further the process of developing the nation and creates conditions for the full affirmation of the national life of the people. In Romania, for instance, in the process of socialist revolution and construction, the feeling that the new order is inaugurating a era of national reawakening, of ascension of the nation to new, higher levels, is catalyzing the energies of the people, is imparting new valences to the propulsive forces, whose action gives expression to the objective laws of history.

The unity of the classes, of all categories of working people, forged through the elimination of the exploiting classes and the reorganization of the economy and social structure on socialist bases, manifests itself not outside the national framework but precisely within this framework, in the consolidation of the nation's ranks, in the formation of a community of economic life, of ideals and action of the whole nation. The socialist culture, permeated by the revolutionary ideology, flourishes not on anational ground but, on the contrary, on the fertile soil of spiritual community, nourished equally by the national values that express the appreciation of the past, the attachment to the socialist present and the nation's aspirations toward a communist future.

The line of social progress proves viable, fertile, precisely through the connection with the new meaning that national independence acquires; the people's sovereignty becomes complete, total, through the national state's development and affirmation with sovereign power--a state of those who work. The historical truth is that precisely the valuing of the traditions of struggle of the working class, of the people, and the affirmation of the Communist Party as the most faithful servant of the nation's ideals of progress, as a true guarantor of the homeland's independence, have had and have a huge role in the growth of our Communist Party's prestige and authority, in the

strengthening of its ties with the people, in the achievement of the solid moral and political unity of the whole nation, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, around the party.

At the same time, the unity of the whole populace is built on the conditions generated by the resolution of the national problem in a true Marxist-Leninist spirit. In this regard too, in a world in which, not rarely, the nations assert themselves to the detriment of nationalities, Romania presents a bright picture, worthy of a socialist society. Our whole populace owes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the unwavering consistency with which our party and society have made it a major objective to cultivate the spirit of brotherhood and understanding among all who work, regardless of nationality, to harmoniously combine national pride with mutual respect and appreciation. Thus, the experience of our socialist revolution, of the construction of the new order, demonstrates the groundlessness of the views that put the social and the national in opposition, ignoring the given historical framework, which is always and remains the national framework, against whose background the real dialectics of the national and the international operates.

In the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism, of the principles of social determinism, our party has consistently put at the foundation of the multilateral progress of the nation the forging of a strong, modern economy, through socialist industrialization and the development of agriculture reorganized on socialist bases. The fruitfulness of this line is abundantly demonstrated by life. The great achievements obtained by our people, under the party's leadership, in the years of socialist revolution and construction, especially after the ninth congress, concretize the general progress of Romanian society and, at the same time, represent a vivid expression of the flourishing of our socialist nation. The growth of industrial output by over 100-fold, of agricultural output by over 7-fold and of national income by 32-fold since 1945, the raising of the standard of living and the quality of life of the working people on this basis, and the development of science, education and culture constitute historic gains of the people and, at the same time, characterize the new dimensions at which the progress of the nation is taking place.

The achievements up to now constitute not an end point but a starting level for advancing the nation, the whole society, toward new heights of development and civilization, and the prospects in this regard are indicated with great clarity by the decisions of the 13th party congress regarding the country's economic and social progress in the 1986-1990 5-year period and the long-term orientations up to the year 2000.

Such multilateral progress of society, of the nation, finalizes a line that combines into a single whole the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the state. The flourishing of our socialist nation has nothing in common with national narrowness and isolation. It is being achieved under the conditions of the expansion of relations on all planes with the socialist countries, with the developing and nonaligned countries, with the developed capitalist countries, with all countries, regardless of social order, the expansion of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and firm involvement in the service of the cause of international peace, security and cooperation. Precisely

the flourishing of the nation creates the material, political and spiritual conditions for more and more active participation in the world circuit of values.

As a new, higher phase of mankind's progress, socialism is called upon to place the relations between nations on new bases, to eliminate any form of inequality in rights, of oppression of other nations, there becoming possible on such bases wide cooperation, solidarity and mutual support among the socialist nations and states, independent and sovereign. As is known, the Romanian Communist Party, starting precisely from such an understanding of the relations between the socialist countries, has carried out and is carrying out steadily a policy of developing on all planes the relations with all these countries, placing firmly at the basis of these relations the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality in rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and cooperation and solidarity.

Such a line gives expression to a more general orientation of our party, which does not oppose the flourishing of the nation to international solidarity. On the contrary, the successful fulfillment of the tasks of building the new order by each socialist country represents, at the same time, a major contribution to strengthening socialism's positions, the revolutionary, progressive forces in the world, creates the conditions and premises for strengthening the international solidarity with all the advanced forces of the era.

As experience shows, the socialist nations are evolving in step with the advance of society toward higher phases of progress, as component parts and active factors in this advance. The nation is demonstrating its immense resources for stimulating progress in all spheres of human activity. It has wide prospects of flourishing further in the process of the construction of communism as well as within the future communist society. Even in the stage of full communism, when the gradual disappearance of the national states, of essential differences between nations, will be reached, the nation will continue to exist within the framework of separate organization, as a distinct entity, preserving its specific character. On this basis, close, multilateral collaboration between nations will be achieved. This is an inspiring prospect, mobilizing the nation's creative energies for the purpose of forging a higher civilization, the communist civilization.

Thus, the nation is not disappearing, as some theoreticians and ideologists claim contrary to all the evidence of the era; on the contrary, it will continue to exist in the foreseeable future. And furthermore, it will continue to play a prominent role in the general progress of human society.

These are a few of the basic aspects that the theoretical work of the secretary general of the party contains regarding the nation, its evolution and role. The devising of such theses is of immense principled significance, representing a contribution of historic importance to the thorough study of revolutionary theory and experience. This highlights one of the major reasons for the great prestige that our party and its secretary general have within the communist movement and among the progressive, advanced forces everywhere.

At present, in the new stage inaugurated by the 13th party congress in the struggle to forge the multilaterally developed socialist society, the unity of the nation, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, around the party and its secretary general is stronger than ever. It constitutes a sign of the invincible solidity of our order, proof of the Communist Party's identification with the noble cause of the flourishing of the nation, with its multilateral progress. And, with complete justification, all who work, the whole nation, value to the utmost the results obtained in society's development in the last two decades, the most fertile period in the long history of the nation, of the people, since the truest, most worthy and most brilliant exponent of the nation's ideals of prosperity, of the whole populace's interests of progress and well-being--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--has been at the head of the party and the state.

With good reason, determined to attain the objectives set at the 13th party congress, our people, all the working people, regardless of nationality, see in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reinvestiture in the high office of secretary general of the party the basic condition, the guarantee, for the country's steady advance along the path to the communist civilization, for the raising of our nation to a place of honor among the nations of the world.

#### The Complete Resolution of the National Problem in Romania

Dr Elena Florea, principal scientific researcher at the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: The elimination of any form of social and national inequality, discrimination and oppression, the providing of full equality and the consolidation of the unity and brotherhood of all who work, regardless of nationality, constitute an outstanding victory of our socialist order. Referring to this great historical achievement, the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out at the 13th RCP Congress: "In our country we have solved the national problem for good, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception, the principles of scientific socialism, providing full equality in rights to all citizens of the homeland."

Back at its creation, the Romanian Communist Party spoke out firmly for full equality in rights for all the working people, regardless of nationality. Alongside other democratic, progressive forces, the party performed constant activity against discrimination and inequality, against the policy of separating and dividing the working people of different nationalities, a policy promoted by the retrograde, reactionary circles. It fought consistently against social and national exploitation and oppression, for the safeguarding of the vital interests of the broad masses of people, for the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of Romania, and worked steadily for full equality in rights among all the working people, regardless of nationality.

Despite all the attempts of the reactionary imperialist circles to misinform the masses, to denigrate socialism, it is clear to anyone that the just, consistent and complete resolution of the national problem was possible in Romania only with the elimination of the bourgeois-landlord order and the transition to the construction of the new order. In the course of this broad revolutionary process, full equality in rights among all the working people,

regardless of nationality, was achieved and their solid unity was strengthened. This unity is based on the reality, which cannot be disputed by anyone, that the Romanian, Hungarian and other-nationality working people have forged together everything that is found in this area, have fought together against oppression and injustice, for a society without exploiters, a society of social and national justice, have secured, through joint efforts, the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation, the accomplishment of the socialist society, the raising of the homeland to higher levels of progress and civilization.

Constituting an essential objective, closely correlated with the other components of the revolutionary process, the resolution of the national problem in our country is the result of the huge revolutionary transformations produced during the years of socialist revolution and construction. On the basis of these transformations, the national problem has been solved by eliminating any kind of social and national exploitation, by establishing the political power of the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and with the other categories of working people in cities and villages, by providing and guaranteeing the broadest democratic rights and liberties for all citizens, by creating the material conditions needed for actually exercising these rights and liberties, by providing equal material and economic, cultural and spiritual, and living and working conditions for all the working people, regardless of nationality, and by completely eliminating discriminatory practices from all fields of social life. At the same time, in solving the national problem, the firm application of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, the development of relations of collaboration, of unity and mutual respect, and the education of all working people in the spirit of the revolutionary ideology, of the policy of the party, of the traditions of collaboration and brotherhood in the common work and struggle for a better life--elements that define the complex content of the solution to the national problem--are of particular importance.

The Romanian Communist Party's policy of attaining full equality among all the working people has paid off in results of primary importance for what the solution to the national problem means and must mean. First, it is a question of providing the right to work and to equal pay for equal work. We have achieved, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "what is not provided yet in many countries of the world, including the most developed capitalist states--the right to work, which constitutes one of the basic rights of man." Second, The right to education and free education, including in the languages of the nationalities, are provided. Third, the conditions needed for all Romanian citizens of different nationalities to also perform cultural, artistic and scientific activity in their mother tongues are provided. Fourth, along with the wide development of working-class, revolutionary democracy, with the forging of a democratic organizational framework, unique of its kind, wide and highly responsible participation in the organization and management of all economic and social activity is provided equally to the Romanian working people and those of different nationalities. The attainment of full equality--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said--starts from the idea that "we have a new understanding of equality and freedom--that of the fact that all citizens of the homeland have the same rights in all fields, the same liberties, but

the same duties to the homeland, to the people, to the cause of forging the new, classless society."

The creation of the material conditions for equality is of decisive importance. The balanced and harmonious territorial placement of economic activities and of institutions of learning, culture and health and the general growth of the production forces in all counties and areas of the country constitute the essential condition, the decisive factor for achieving full equality among all citizens, regardless of nationality. The application of this strategy has placed on the path of intensive economic development counties that once had a low level of economic development, such as Covasna County also was, like many other counties in the country. In conformity with the constitution's provisions, full equality is thus provided on a political plane too, in organic unity with the equality in the field of economic, legal, social and cultural life. In our party's view, true equality in rights also lies in this: to have equal working and living conditions, equal conditions for education and culture, for artistic and scientific creation, for participation in the management of society, in the prosperity of the common homeland.

The victory of socialism and communism is impossible without the indestructible unity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, without the common effort to give life to the basic objectives of the Romanian Communist Party's policy. Consequently--as our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, said at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982--"anyone who tries, in one way or another, to strike at the collaboration and unity of the citizens of our homeland puts himself implicitly in the employ of the enemies of the country, the enemies of the builders of socialism." The force and solidity of the order that we are building in our country reside, in fact, in the unity of will and action of all citizens of the homeland.

In the view of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the unity and brotherhood of those who work in our country are based, first, on the fact that the Hungarian, German, Serb and other-nationality working people are all citizens of socialist Romania, with the same rights and obligations as the homeland's other citizens and, second, on that incontestable reality that, regardless of the origin of our parents, of the language that we speak, we all have a common origin, that of the homeland in which we were born; third, we all learn and speak--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out--a single language, "the language of the revolutionary outlook, of scientific socialism, the language which develops revolutionary humanism, which puts in the center man, the raising of his cultural and scientific level, of his well-being and happiness"; fourth, under any circumstances, we all serve and must serve the people, the homeland, the party, the cause of socialism and communism, the freedom and independence of the country.

In proportion to society's general progress, to the resolution of the basic problems of developing the country in the current stage and in the future, the major problems of life and work of all the working people, regardless of nationality, are also being solved and will be solved better and better.



The experience of our country demonstrates, through the power of the facts, that equality means rights, liberties, conditions for free, unhindered affirmation in all fields, but also responsibility, high duties, of which the foremost is that of doing everything for the continual development of the homeland, to improve, uplift and ennoble the common life, to remain always united in interests, aspirations and ideals, to make of the unity and brotherhood of all who work, regardless of nationality, a invincible force of socialism. Collaboration and cooperation, mutual respect and esteem, indestructible unity and brotherhood represent priceless values of the Romanian people, of all the working people in our homeland, acquired in the united and brotherly work and struggle for a better and better life, for the multilateral progress of the common homeland--socialist Romania.

#### A Great Historical Achievement

Eduard Eisenburger, chairman of the Council of Working People of German Nationality: Starting from the lawlike process of continual development and flourishing of the socialist nation--the optimum framework for the full affirmation of the Romanian people's national being--our party is acting steadily, at the same time, to create all the conditions needed for the free and unhindered development of all citizens of the homeland, without any distinction, so that all nationalities may profit equally from socialism's benefits. As the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out, "The national problem and the policy on nationalities cannot be correctly understood and resolved except within the framework of our general policy, of the revolutionary struggle and the united work for forging socialism and communism."

The Marxist-Leninist resolution of the national problem in the years of the revolution and the construction of socialism constitutes one of the great historical achievements of the Romanian Communist Party, since it has led to the elimination of any form of national inequality, discrimination and oppression, to the consolidation of the unity and friendship of all who work, regardless of nationality, with the socialist principle of full equality in rights for all the working people being applied through specific methods, in accordance with the concrete-historical realities of our country. Through the innovative approach to the problems of building the new Romanian society, through its entire activity, the Romanian Communist Party has made a remarkable contribution to the enrichment of the treasury of revolutionary theory and practice regarding the place, role and prospect of the nation and the nationalities under socialism, regarding national relations. One ought to note in this context the incontestable merit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party and chairman of the republic, who substantiated the unitary and original conception that guides the party's entire practical activity for developing the friendship and brotherhood of all the inhabitants of the country, regardless of nationality.

The unwavering determination and the creative and unanimous enthusiasm with which all the working people, regardless of nationality, are giving life to the program of the party and the decisions of the 13th congress prove that socialist Romania is built from the will and action of all the citizens of the homeland, expressing the common aspirations, the identical strivings, the

solid unity of the whole populace around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. At the same time, this unity also confirms another historical truth: the just, profoundly democratic and humanistic solution to the national problem in Romania.

The valuable experience of our party and state in this matter have had and have a wide international echo, since this extremely important field of social and political activity still constitutes an unsolved problem for many states in the world. I recently had the occasion to leaf through a catalog of the International Association of German-Language Mass Media (IADM), with headquarters in Cologne (FRG), written in 1984, which, for the first time since World War II, makes an exhaustive inventory of the mass media that appear in the German language in various countries of the world. Comparing, among other things, the situation of the press published in Romania for the use of the German population with the similar press in several countries in which German nationalities exist, the reader is pleasantly impressed, as regards our country, by the considerable list of titles, which includes two dailies, several weeklies and specialized periodicals. Listing and describing each particular publication, the daily radio programs and the weekly television broadcast, also adding the fact that some of these publications produce in their own publishing house almanacs as well as other works on specific topics in spheres of interest of the German population--it is a question of the daily NEUER WEG, the newspaper NEUER BANATER ZEITUNG, the social, political and cultural weekly KARPATERNRUNDSCHAU and the magazine NEUE LITERATUR--the above-mentioned catalog notes, in fact, the existence in our country of an extensive system of mass media put at the disposal of a population of only about 300,000 persons.

It is perhaps by no means without interest to also reproduce in this context another appraisal. Not long ago, the daily WESTFALISCHE RUNDSCHAU, a high-circulation newspaper in the FRG, devoted a whole page to the German-language mass media in our country. "Such a thing exists only in Timisoara!"--it says at the start of the page--"Four local dailies in four mother tongues, for four nationalities.... The model is unique..., a rarity in the mass-media field."

It is well known that, in the course of building the new Romanian society, our socialist state has provided not only the material base that guarantees to all citizens of the country equal living and working conditions, the framework for real and concrete democracy, of a nature to secure their direct and effective participation in the management of public affairs, but also, at the same time, the entire system of cultural and educational institutions needed for the maintenance and socialist development of all the working people, regardless of nationality, among which, besides the press, there are publishing houses, theaters and schools. I might mention in this regard, as an example, that now, besides the eight publications put at the disposal of the reader and, of course, the creators in the German language, nine other publishing houses in the country produce books in the German language. All these things have facilitated not only the creation and development of their own literature but also the enrichment of the content and artistic resources of this literature, with original creation in the German language succeeding in gaining a well-merited place in the literary creation of socialist Romania and in the world. Original creation in the German language in our country has been recognized--

and this especially in the last two decades--as the only valuable German literature existing outside the German-language area, that is, the GDR, the FRG, Austria and Switzerland. Its considerable level also finds expression in another gratifying phenomenon: many German-language authors in Romania are translated and published abroad.

Naturally, the question arises: Why precisely in Romania has German-language literature reached such a remarkable level in comparison with the creation by much larger ethnic groups? Would it be only a question of talent? I would be pleased but, at the same time, I am doubtful, since, besides talent, something else very essential is also required: material and institutional conditions that make possible the multilateral affirmation of the human personality, conditions that have been created with great magnanimity by our socialist society. Like no other country in the world in which a German-language population lives, we possess a well-developed and well-knit system for education in the German language, from kindergarten to secondary school, which contains over 45,000 children and pupils in the 1984/1985 school year. In addition, higher education is attended by 1,838 students coming from Romanian citizens of German nationality.

It is known, on the other hand, that in Sibiu and Timisoara there are state drama theaters and one puppet theater in the German language, which have a wide public following not just among the German population, which demonstrates that these institutions have become a possession of all who work, of our whole populace. Moreover, the culture specific to the German nationality is the product of this area, of a common past, of the interaction, over the centuries, between this population, the Romanian people and the other nationalities, as well as the result of the new Romanian realities, constituting an integral part of the cultural heritage of socialist Romania, enriching this heritage with original creations and genuine values.

With good reason, another major dimension of the solution to the national problem in our country has been mentioned at length here: the wide development of socialist democracy and, in this context, the creation and improvement of the organizational, institutional framework of a nature to secure the resolution of the problems specific to the nationalities in our country, such as the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality. I might also add that, to the same end, specialized working bodies that are concerned exclusively with guiding the instructional and educational activity and the cultural and artistic activity among the working people of different nationalities have been created in both the Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Council for Socialist Culture and Education. Specialists and cultivated people from the different nationalities have also been added to the management council of the Ministry of Education and Instruction, to the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and to the National Council of Romanian Radio-Television. The same also holds good for the unions of creation. Besides the fact that representatives from the ranks of the Hungarian, German and other-nationality creators belong to their collective leaderships, within the management council of the Union of Writers in Romania there has also operated for many years a commission of the nationalities, which has given its aid in solving both the problems of a general nature in the field of creation and those

that concern the specific character of the literary creation of the different nationalities in our country. All these things mark, in fact, the strong expansion of the framework for manifestation of civil rights and liberties and faithfully reflect the higher level to which national relations have been raised in Romania, the qualitatively new content of these relations. There is thus fully justified the conclusion, stressed strongly by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 13th party congress, according to which "in our country we have solved the national problem for good, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception, the principles of scientific socialism, providing full equality in rights to all citizens of the homeland. Regardless of nationality, of the language that we speak, we are all sons of a single homeland, we are all citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania!"

The same concise judgment expresses an achievement and experience of international value. If we refer, for instance, to the states on our continent, only in a few of them, very small ones, do national minorities not exist. Nationalities or minority ethnic groups, which have not yet reached the stage of a nationality, live literally in the scores and hundreds on all continents, and especially in the states formed after the collapse of the colonial system. The great majority of the states in the world are faced with a national problem, some in a violent manner, a situation that indicates the acuteness of the problem. In fact, this also explains to a great extent the wide interest in the creative and original character of the Romanian experience in solving the national problem. Precisely the realities in our country caused Dane Ronald Joergensen, who was chairman of the Federal Union of Ethnic Groups in Europe for many years, to acknowledge, after repeated visits to our country: "Nicolae Ceausescu and Romania have managed to achieve what many states have thus far sought in vain: to transform the nationalities from an intruder into a constructive element of the new Romanian society."

For all of us, those who have lived and worked in this area for many centuries, Romania is our only homeland. The feelings of friendship and mutual respect among all the working people, regardless of nationality, feelings that have acquired a new dimension in the years of socialism, are based on a tradition springing from the common work and struggle of those who are contributing, shoulder to shoulder, to the creation of all material and spiritual values, to the progress of the homeland.

Although it possesses an original social experience of great theoretical and practical value in solving the national problem, Romania has not given and does not give anyone lessons in this regard, observing the principle according to which the sovereignty of each national state is sacred. But, at the same time, we cannot accept advice and lessons given by others regarding the resolution of the national problem, knowing that any interference of this kind, "any attempt at diversion, at stirring up this problem," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality on 27 December 1984, "does nothing but misinform the respective people or peoples and contribute to the worsening of the relations between peoples and countries." In contrast, we sincerely want each country to solve the national problem at least as it has been solved in our country and the working people of different nationalities in each country

to have the rights that we have in Romania, along with the whole populace, we, the citizens belonging to the German nationality. I am convinced that no citizen of this nationality will spare his forces, efforts and creative energies to raise to new heights of progress and civilization socialist Romania--the common homeland, which is providing us a dignified present and future among the peoples of the world.

#### Unity and Identity in the Process of the Development of National Life

Iosif Boda, assistant dean at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: By its very essence, socialism creates the premises and objective framework for solving the national problem, for providing full equality in rights for all citizens of the country, for affirming and guaranteeing human freedom and dignity. As the experience of building the new order shows, the national problem, like any major social problem, is of great complexity, with its resolution necessarily presupposing a scientific policy devised and consistently implemented by the Communist Party.

The realistic spirit, the originality of the theoretical thought of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the revolutionary high-principledness in building a society in which the same rights and obligations and the same living and working conditions are provided to all who work, regardless of nationality, manifest themselves strikingly in the devising and implementation of such a national policy, an integral part of the general policy of building a new order on the land of Romania.

The general approach to the problem of the nation and the nationalities in all its constituent components, within the framework of the general process of profound revolutionary transformation of Romanian society, constitutes the basic coordinate of the national policy of the Romanian Communist Party. At the same time, the Romanian Communist Party starts from the existence of the nationalities as an objective historical reality, from the scientific approach, in a dialectical spirit, to the common and individual aspects in the past of struggle, in the material and spiritual life of the Romanian nation and the nationalities.

The just, complete solution to the national problem in Romania constitutes a reality obvious to anyone, measurable with the arguments of the facts of life, of collective and individual daily existence. It is a reality of which we are proud. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "We are one of the few countries in the world in which full equality in rights has really been provided to all citizens, regardless of nationality."

In the years of socialist revolution and construction, and especially after the ninth congress, a landmark in the contemporary history of Romania, due to a political practice continually adapted to the specific conditions, to the characteristics of the different stages of development, a complex social and political framework, unique of its kind, has been created, in which the people themselves, all the working people, regardless of nationality, have assumed and assume the responsibility for the socialist destiny of the homeland. Participation in the management of society and the affirmation of

working-class, revolutionary self-management are, in the view of the party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, incompatible with any kind of social, national, professional or other restrictions. The assumption of personal and collective responsibility in the work of building the multilaterally developed socialist society constitutes a duty and an act of great patriotic consciousness, a real manifestation of each citizen's capacity to think and act in the spirit of the highest political responsibility, a way of giving expression to love and respect for our entire socialist nation, thus for his own nationality too.

The unity of our whole populace around the party and its secretary general and the common goal of and united action for building the new society rest on the strong foundation of a long historical tradition, of the centuries-long cohabitation of the Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities in the same area, on the common work and struggle for social and national freedom. Moreover, the nationalities in our homeland arose as nationalities, in the modern sense of the word, in this political, economic, social and cultural area, which has imparted specific traits to them. In this tumultuous historical process, the Romanians, Hungarians and Germans in this area are acquiring not only the consciousness of their ethnic specificity but also that spirit of brotherhood, mutual knowledge and appreciation, of collaboration and friendship, the consciousness of the common destiny, a destiny that they can forge only together.

It is clear that, in the defining of the identity of the Hungarian nationality in Romania, the cohabitation with the Romanians and other nationalities has constituted one of the decisive historical factors. This phenomenon is revealing in all the manifestations of its historical existence. We are thinking about the great battles waged by the peasantry, by "the community of the Romanian and Hungarian peasants"--as the peasant camp at Bobilna described itself, a self-description with a role of a symbol in our common history--about the battles waged together for social and national liberation, and at the same time, we are thinking about the continual cultural interaction, so fruitful over the centuries.

The most obvious example from this viewpoint is the process of mutual cultural evolution and influence in the Transylvanian area, where the work and activity of toiling luminaries of the pen, such as Nicolaus Olahus, Heltay Gaspar, Iohannes Honterus and Mihail Csaky or, nearer, Sincai, Barnutiu, Goga and Ady Endre, do not constitute mere individual examples but express the organic structure itself of the cultural interaction. The works of these creators, regardless of the language in which they were written, have helped to enrich the treasury of values of the unitary Romanian culture, without replacing or obliterating each other, but, on the contrary, preserving their individuality and consolidating it.

It is the Romanian Communist Party's and its secretary general's exceptional merit of having revealed the true appearance of our historical evolution, of the common and individual aspects, and of having integrated them into the basic principles of the national policy. "We have started and start," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "from the fact that the long cohabitation of the Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and other nationalities in various

parts of the country, especially in Transylvania, is a result of historical development, of nearness to different peoples and nations, that everything that has been achieved in this area is the result of the common work and struggle, that only in complete unity will we secure the victory of communism in Romania. Taking into account this reality, as well as the lessons of history, we are doing everything to secure the full manifestation of each nationality, of each citizen of the homeland, in the spirit of the revolutionary humanism that characterizes our socialist society."

Starting from the historical grounds of joint cohabitation, the party has promoted and is promoting steadily a national policy that, providing equality in the economic field, the objective foundation of this equality, the democratic political framework for the affirmation and manifestation of all who work, provides at the same time the observance of their own traditions, of their own customs, of all those characteristics that allow the nationalities to preserve and develop their own identity. The institutions of education of all grades in the languages of the nationalities, the publishing activity, the number and circulation of the newspapers and magazines, the institutions of art and culture, and the presence of the working people from the nationalities in the party's ranks and leadership bodies, in the local and central bodies of state power and administration and in the bodies for working-class democracy are all so much graphic proof of the implementation of our party's Marxist-Leninist national policy. With an exemplary force of argumentation, they demonstrate the absurdity, the total lack of soundness of the theses that still maintain that a process of "denationalization," of spiritual "uprooting" of the nationalities, would occur in Romania. Life and reality show that never in their history have the nationalities in our country had such favorable conditions as now for cultural and spiritual development, for full affirmation of their personality, for maintenance of their own specific character within our great and united family, which is the Romanian socialist nation.

Of course, the evolution of national relations, in its entire complexity and "processuality," presupposes not only the actual providing of rights and liberties, broader and broader and richer and richer in content, of forms and methods of the most diverse kinds for full manifestation of the nationalities, but also an extensive and thorough process of education in the spirit of strengthening the friendship and brotherhood, of the unity of a new type among all citizens of the homeland, without any distinction, of revolutionary, socialist patriotism.

Our party's judgment, expressed so many times, that everything that has been achieved in this area in the long common history of work and struggle for social and national freedom, for a more dignified and richer and richer life, is the joint result and possession of all the inhabitants of this land confers new dimensions on the concept of people, of socialist nation, on the very notion of homeland. The lessons of history and the experience of socialist revolution and construction bring out the profound truth of our party's thesis according to which only together, in brotherly collaboration, in full mutual respect, can we forge our own destiny, the socialist and communist future.

From our society's system of thought and values we have eliminated for good, irrevocably, any manifestation of national exclusivism, of intolerance, of suspicion and distrust, any form of nationalism or chauvinism, as alien, detrimental to our people's interests and aspirations, to our way of being, thinking and acting. The affirmation and development of the identity of the nationalities, of their specific traits, cannot be opposed--as would suit some retrograde, reactionary circles--to our people's organic, intrinsic unity. On the contrary, they help to consolidate and cement the unity and brotherhood of all sons of the common homeland, regardless of nationality.

In the atmosphere of revolutionary, creative effervescence of thought and work, so fertiley stimulated by the mobilizing objectives set by the 13th congress and by the orientations and ideas of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the nationalities in our country--Romanians of Hungarian nationality, Romanians of German nationality and so on--are integrating themselves with deep attachment into the broad efforts of the great family of our socialist nation to fulfill the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the state, the high ideals of socialism and communism in contemporary Romanian society.

#### Rational Distribution of the Production Forces--the Solid Foundation for Full Equality in Rights

Univ Prof Dr Ilie Vaduva, rector of the Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies: The scientific analysis of the path traveled by Romania in the years of the construction of socialism, especially after the ninth party congress, makes evident the great successes and accomplishments in economic and social development, in the transformation of all localities of the homeland on a new basis, in the providing of better and better working and living conditions for all citizens of the homeland. The documents of the 13th congress, especially the masterly report of the RCP secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, bring out strongly these historic achievements, which constitute the result of the own effort, the heroic struggle and work, filled with abnegation and self-sacrifice, of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, in all areas and localities of the homeland.

The new appearance of the country, including Covasna County, and the work and life of the inhabitants in all the communes and cities demonstrate, through the power of accomplished facts, the brilliant way in which our party has solved the national problem, acting steadily to create the political, economic, social and cultural conditions needed for providing full equality in rights among all the sons of the homeland. In this regard, our party has started and starts from the truth, confirmed by life, that political rights and liberties are viable, enduring, only if they rest on a solid economic foundation, only if all members of society have the possibility of benefiting equally from the results of the economic development of the country. As the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out, the defining element of our society's multilateral progress, the decisive factor, in the final analysis, in the achievement of full equality among all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, consists of "the strong development of



the production forces over the whole territory of the country in a unitary and far-reaching perspective. Only in this way are there provided the raising of the degree of civilization of all the localities, the elimination of the migration of the population to the big cities, the harmonious transformation of the entire social structure and life, the forging of full equality as regards working and living conditions, the exercise of rights and the affirmation of all citizens of the country in the field of social life."

The implementation of such a profoundly scientific conception is the result of the RCP's general policy, of the continual, highly profound and lucid, truly revolutionary thought and activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who, taking into account the exigencies of the objective economic laws of development, has devised a proper model for optimization of economic growth, on the basis of rationally combining the criteria of economic efficiency with those of a social and political nature, a direct expression of the creative application of the general truths regarding the construction of socialism under the concrete-historical, national and, at the same time, international conditions in which Romania is forging its new social order.

It is well known that the economic situation inherited from the bourgeois-landlord regime was characterized by big inequalities and disproportions in the development of the different areas of the country. Aside from some relatively industrialized centers, many areas of the country did not have industrial units. Thus, in 1938, three main areas (Bucharest-Prahova Valley, central Transylvania and Banat) had 61.5 percent of the invested capital, 53 percent of the motive power, 53.1 percent of the workers and 57.1 percent of the industrial output. In contrast, vast geographical areas, like Moldavia, Dobruja and Oltenia, where nearly 40 percent of the country's population lived, had only about 12 percent of the industrial output. This glaring disproportion in the development of the different areas was reflected in poor utilization of the country's material and human potential, in low social labor productivity and, implicitly, in a low standard of living for the population.

Under these conditions, the development of the poorly developed geographical areas and the optimum territorial distribution of the production forces became a highly important programmatic objective of our party. The period of socialist construction of the country, especially after 1965, marks the most important stage in Romania's whole history in the harmonious, rational development of the production forces on a territorial basis. Through the historic decisions adopted by the ninth congress and the other national congresses and conferences of the party in the last two decades, a set of measures meant to secure the improvement of the management of the national economy and the improvement of territorial-administrative organization were carried out and the foundations were laid for the unitary implementation of the policy of complex, harmonious development of each county's economy, in accordance with the exigencies for the balanced development of the whole national economy. It is also worth noting that under the conditions in which in today's world many countries, including the economically developed capitalist countries, are faced with special problems caused by the big regional economic gaps, such as the gap between northern and southern Italy, between the Parisian zone and the outskirts of France and so on, with the economic and social inequalities also

being accentuated in this way, Romania is carrying out a policy of broad historical scope regarding the development of the production forces over the whole territory of the country.

Within the framework of the general strategy of balanced development of the national economy, through the application of broad programs of investments, the priority orientation of them toward the counties with a lower economic level was pursued; along with concern for raising and modernizing the production potential of the other counties. It is characteristic of the 1966-1983 period that the majority of the 23 counties that had increases in the volume of investments higher than the national average are counties with lower economic potential, such as, for example, Salaj, Bistrita-Nasaud, Covasna, Dimbovita, Vaslui, Vilcea, Tulcea, Giurgiu, Alba, Vrancea and so on. The main part of the investments were aimed at the development of industry. Within the framework of this process, the simultaneous performance of the process of rational and efficient territorial concentration of industrial production with that of sensible distribution of industry in space has thus been secured, with favorable consequences for optimizing the economic and social structures, both in the national economy on the whole and in each particular county.

Those who doubted the industrial talent of the Romanian people are now strongly refuted by the big, modern industrial facilities built throughout the homeland, by the performances of Romanian industry. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality in December 1984, "The big industrial platforms and the construction of housing and other social and cultural structures, which have transformed the appearance of the cities, of our homeland, constitute graphic proof of the correctness of the party's policy of raising the general level of development of all counties of the country, of creatively applying the general truths of scientific socialism, of the objective laws, to the concrete conditions in Romania."

The growth of the industrial output at a higher rate in the counties with lower economic power is characteristic of this process. In the 1966-1983 period, 19 counties of the country with a less developed economic potential had rates higher than the national average. Thus, in the 1966-1983 period, while the average annual rate of growth of industry in the country was 10.0 percent, the average annual growth in the less developed counties was 15.8 percent in Olt, 17.2 percent in Salaj, 14.6 percent in Buzau, 13.5 percent in Iasi, 13.3 percent in Vilcea, 14.1 percent in Vaslui, 13.2 percent in Teleorman, 11.9 percent in Mehedinti, 12.5 percent in Covasna, 14.6 percent in Bistrita-Nasaud, 13.1 percent in Tulcea, 12.7 percent in Gorj, 11.9 percent in Ialomita, 12.7 percent in Harghita, 12.5 percent in Calarasi and so on.

The RCP's policy of more rapidly raising the industrial power of the less developed counties, along with developing and modernizing the industry in the counties considered more developed from an economic viewpoint, has had as a result the growth of the equipping of labor with fixed assets. The positive effect of such a process is also illustrated by the changes occurring in the grouping of the counties according to the value of the productive fixed assets. In 1965, 35 counties had fixed assets up to 10 billion lei, 4 counties

between 10 and 30 billion lei and only 1 county above 30 billion lei, but in 1983 there were no longer any counties in the first category and there were 29 in the third.

The policy of distributing the production forces over the territory, accented particularly after 1965, has been concretized in the intensification of the process of bringing the levels of development of the counties closer together. This is reflected, first of all, in the changes occurring in the distribution of the counties according to the value of the industrial output, which shows a drop in the number of counties that obtain low industrial outputs and a corresponding rise in those with high outputs. As a result, industry has been consolidated within each country, it becoming the decisive factor in the utilization of the existing natural and labor resources with maximum efficiency. In 1965, only 4 counties had an industrial output over 10 billion lei, but the number of them rose to 9 in 1970, 21 in 1975 and 40 in 1980.

The RCP's policy of socialist industrialization of the country has had as a result the creation of new production capacities in all counties of the country. In the 1968-1982 period, over 6,100 new industrial capacities were created, along with the development and modernization of the existing ones, with modern workplaces being created in all counties of the homeland.

Besides the changes of a quantitative nature, the process of socialist industrialization has also caused significant changes of a structural and qualitative nature, expressed by the improvement in the distribution of the sub-branches of industry over the territory. Thus, the machine-building industry, the pivot of economic vitality in general and of industry in particular, is now present in all counties of the country, it having a decisive role in the employment of the work force and in the growth of the degree of higher utilization of natural resources. In 1983, in 30 counties of the country, this branch had the highest percentage in the total industrial output. It is noteworthy that in the less developed counties in the past, such as Alba, Arges, Bacau, Braila, Covasna, Dolj, Mehedinti, Satu Mare, Salaj, Teleorman and Vaslui, the machine-building industry now has over one-third of the county's total industrial output. In addition, the chemical and ferrous-metallurgical industries or the power industry are now located throughout the country.

The RCP's policy of rational territorial distribution of the production forces, with a view to harmoniously developing all counties of the homeland, also includes another basic branch of the economy--agriculture. The entire activity of developing the agricultural output has been conceived to be carried out on the basis of taking into consideration the national economy's interests while taking into account the specific, local economic, social and natural conditions. As a result of this agrarian policy, the continual growth of vegetable production has been secured in all counties of the country. One thus finds a continual rise in the counties that obtain an agricultural gross output of over 2.5 billion lei and a corresponding drop in the number of counties below this limit. For instance, in the 1966-1970 5-year period, 34 counties achieved an agricultural output below 2.5 billion lei, but their number fell to 28 in 1971-1975 and to 16 in the 1976-1980 period.

On the basis of the results of economic and social development on a territorial basis, the 13th RCP Congress stressed the necessity of further intensifying the efforts in the direction of raising to a higher level the process of homogenizing the working and living conditions of all the working people. Thus, the congress prescribed that a per-capita volume of economic activity of at least 80,000 lei per year is to be achieved in each county by 1990. This will secure the balanced development of all areas in the future, the further convergence of the counties as regards the level of gross output per capita and the use of labor resources, the systematization and modernization of the network of urban and rural localities, and the raising of the general degree of civilization of all areas and counties.

In an organic connection with the accentuation of the process of rational territorial distribution of industry, the documents of the 13th party congress stress the necessity of developing agriculture as rapidly as possible in all counties of the country. At the end of the current 5-year period, the per-capita volume of activity in agriculture will come to 11,500 lei per year, as compared with only 5,815 lei in 1980; increases above the national average will be attained in the counties of Arges, Bacau, Brasov, Cluj, Gorj, Hunedoara, Iasi, Maramures, Neamt, Prahova, Sibiu and Vilcea.

The raising of the agricultural potential of each county and locality is indissolubly connected with the implementation of the program regarding territorial self-management and self-supply.

As a result of the development of the production of material assets, but also as a condition for growth in economic efficiency, the network for performing services for the population and that for social and cultural facilities and housing construction have also been developed. It is noteworthy that over 2.3 million dwellings, 49,000 places in hospitals, over 36,000 classrooms, 212,000 places in kindergartens, about 114,000 places in nurseries, 546,000 places in cultural clubs, 46 houses of culture, new clubs and other social and cultural institutions were built in the 1968-1982 period.

The RCP's policy of complex development of the economy of the counties has had as a result significant changes in the growth of the size and in the structure of the population employed according to counties. The essential characteristic of this process is the continual growth of the number of workers from about 1 million in 1938 to over 6 million in 1983, of which those employed in industry rose from 472,000 to over 3.1 million persons.

In the 1966-1983 period, over 3.3 million new workplaces were created in the national economy, many of them going to the counties with a faster rate of development, such as Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Buzau, Covasna, Dimbovita, Gorj, Olt, Salaj, Vaslui and Vilcea. As a result, at the end of 1983, the population employed in nonagricultural branches became predominant in 37 counties, as compared with only 13 counties in 1970 or 9 counties in 1965. At the end of 1980, the population employed in industry exceeded that employed in agriculture in 22 counties, as compared with only 10 counties in 1975.

The analysis of the degree of homogenization of the economic and social development of the counties according to the indicator of the number of worker personnel per 1,000 inhabitants brings out strongly the great successes obtained by our country. Thus, in 1965, the worker personnel per 1,000 inhabitants were below 200 in 23 counties and over 300 in 4 counties, but in 1984, there were no longer any counties in the first group and the number of them in the second group came to 23 counties. The counties of Bistrita-Nasaud, Buzau, Covasna, Salaj, Teleorman and Vrancea registered significant increases in this indicator. These data and trends express the growth of the social and political role of the working class in all counties of the country.

The social purpose of the process of harmoniously developing the production forces over the territory finds its synthetic expression in the raising of the standard of living of the population in all areas of the country. In the current 5-year period, new, significant steps will also be taken regarding the level of the social and cultural material base and expenditures, a striking expression of the RCP's policy of continually raising the standard of material and spiritual living of all the working people in all areas, counties and localities of the country.

The attainment of the splendid objectives set by the 13th congress with regard to Romania's economic and social development on a territorial basis in the 1986-1990 5-year period and, later, up to the year 2000 will play a strong dynamizing role in the speedup of our nation's progress, in the harmonious, balanced development of all counties of the country, creating better and better working and living conditions for all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality. This gives new expression to the fact that our party and state have no higher goal than that of raising the degree of well-being and civilization of the whole populace.

#### The Dynamic and Harmonious Economic and Social Development of All Areas of the Country

Eva Richter, secretary of the Covasna County RCP Committee: The construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement of the country toward communism, as this unitary revolutionary process is defined with great farsightedness in the program of the party and in the documents of the 13th congress, provide--through the vast and complex economic and social objectives--equality to all citizens, regardless of nationality, leading, at the same time, to the consolidation and improvement of the relations of unity and friendship among all citizens of socialist Romania. All these things are a brilliant, concrete confirmation of the just, wise policy of our party and state, which has at its foundation a scientific, unitary conception, in whose devising Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu had a decisive role, an essential and innovative contribution.

With good reason, we can be proud that our country, socialist Romania, is one of the few countries on the globe in which the national problem has been solved so successfully, a fact that has really provided full equality in rights to all its sons. This equality in rights has been, is and will be promoted by the party not in a theoretical way, not in general, but in the

most concrete way possible, with optimum material conditions being provided for achieving it. It thus seems all the more logical and natural that within the framework of the general policy of distributing the production forces over the country's whole territory--a requirement of the greatest significance for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania--our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, also have devoted and are devoting special attention to the continual development of industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy in those counties or areas in which working people of other nationalities also live. This constant concern for continually developing the production forces over the homeland's whole territory forms a defining element of our party's policy of constructing socialism, of building an advanced civilization in which all counties of the country register strong economic and social prosperity.

As is well known, joint socialist ownership, which provides the absolutely equal position of all citizens with respect to the means of production and the achievement, for all, of the right to work and to remuneration according to the quality and quantity of the work done, constitutes the economic basis of the social equality of all the working people, regardless of nationality.

Life has demonstrated and demonstrates strikingly that all the working people in our homeland are closely linked by a common destiny and cannot imagine their life and work, their future, except in indissoluble brotherhood and unity. The process of continually consolidating the unity and brotherhood constitutes a lawlike, dialectical process that cannot be stopped by anyone. Some, as far as we know, do not view with a friendly eye our accomplishments along the upward course that we are traveling. We can remind them of that wise proverb that says: "Water proceeds, stones remain!" The denigration and the tendencies and manifestations of nationalism or chauvinism will never be able to weaken the friendship and brotherhood among all the sons of our homeland, regardless of nationality.

It is well known that the stage inaugurated by the ninth party congress, the most fertile stage in the rapid development of the technical-material base, in the stimulation of all fields of economic and social life, occupies a special place within the process of economic and social development of the country.

Covasna County, in which Romanians and Hungarians have lived and worked from time immemorial, is graphic, living and incontestable proof of the principled, scientific, revolutionary and profoundly humanistic way in which the Romanian Communist Party has solved the national problem. The impressive revolutionary transformations that this ancient Romanian area has undergone and is undergoing in all fields of economic, social and political life are concrete proof of the correctness and wisdom of this policy promoted with great consistency by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

A strong influence on the process of socialist industrialization of Covasna County was exercised by the working visits of the secretary general of the party in 1967 and 1974, when, practically, the foundations were laid for industry, called upon to utilize better the human and material potential existing in this area. New prospects of generally developing all economic and

social activity opened up as a result of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's working visit in 1982. In the last two decades, 22.7 billion lei in state funds have been allocated to Covasna County, which has benefited to the full from the results of our party's investment policy.

The steady application of the policy of rapid growth in economic potential, and especially industrial potential, allowed the industrial output in Covasna County in 1984 to be 8.6 times higher than that achieved in 1965. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the industrial output in 1950 is now achieved in less than a week.

Along with industry's growth at a steady rate, an extensive process of modernization of its structure has occurred and is occurring; besides the development of industry's traditional branches--wood harvesting and processing, textiles and food--on a qualitatively higher plane, new branches have been created--machine building, electrical engineering and chemistry, which, according to the level of their technical equipping, are capable of securing the higher utilization of the county's human potential. Nearly nonexistent at one time, the machine-building industry--now represented by five strong enterprises--occupies first place, in terms of percentage, in the county's industrial output. Moreover, this branch has also had the fastest rate of growth, its percentage being 36.0 percent in 1984, as compared with only 2.0 percent in 1965. At the same time, the coal-extraction industry has made a big forward step. The net coal output rose 14.5-fold, that is, from 85,000 tons in 1950 to 1,232,000 tons in 1983. As a result of the broad program of geologic research carried out in recent years, our county has joined the ranks of the counties producing crude oil and associated gases, making a bigger and bigger contribution to meeting the country's need for hydrocarbons.

Agriculture too has undergone profound transformations, it being set firmly on the path of the new agrarian revolution. In the 1965-1984 period, the agricultural gross output had an average annual rate of growth of 2.8 percent. Large amounts of investment funds have been allocated to this branch; as a result, the volume of fixed assets tripled in the 1965-1983 period. Through the modernization of the material base, greater yields have been obtained year by year for the basic crops, putting our county in first place in the country in the average sugar-beet yield per hectare, third place in the total potato yield, fourth place in the average potato yield per hectare and fifth place in the average milk output.

The development of industry and agriculture and the other fields of the economy has caused profound social changes of particular importance in the life of the people in this area. An intense process of urbanization has occurred, with the percentage of the urban population reaching 50.4 percent in 1984, as compared with the 26.9 percent that it was in 1965. Strong detachments of the working class have been formed and built up. The percentage of the population employed in industry is now 42.7 percent of the total work force, as compared with the 20.7 percent that it was in 1965, under the conditions in which the percentage of the population employed in agriculture has reached 26.6 percent, as compared with the 62.0 percent that it was in 1965.

The increased volume of investments allocated to Covasna County--investments materialized in the strong development of industry and in the modernization of agriculture and the other economic branches--has led to a continual rise in the standard of material and spiritual living of the inhabitants. From 1965 to 1984, the average incomes resulting from pay increased 2.9-fold and the monetary incomes of the CAP [agricultural production cooperative] members increased 1.9-fold. The volume of retail commodity sales through socialist trade rose over 3.8-fold, coming to 12,580 lei per capita in 1984. From 1970 to 1984, services rose 3.3-fold. The housing conditions of the population have improved radically: in the 1965-1984 period, 24,600 apartments were built, with nearly 70 percent of the population moving into new dwellings. In view of the favorable natural conditions, harnessed through a complex investment program, in the last decade, the number of places in the units for tourist accommodations, for recreation and for balneal treatment has doubled and the number of tourists accommodated has grown 3-fold.

All these undeniable successes are the result of the united work, filled with abnegation, of the working people, Romanian and Hungarian, in Covasna County, who, closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have harnessed better and better the human and material potential that the county possesses, have mobilized the existing forces to raise all economic and social activity to a qualitatively higher level. Our party's constant concern for harmoniously developing all areas of the country has caused our county, with a population representing only 1.0 percent of the country's population, with a backward economy two decades ago, to now be in fifth place in the ranking of the counties according to the net output per capita, fourth place in the net output per 1,000 lei of fixed assets, and fifth place in the level of labor productivity achieved in industry.

A component part of the general development, in accord with the provisions for the 1986-1990 5-year period, Covasna County will go further along an ascending line of development, of economic growth, of continual improvement in the standard of material and spiritual living of all the working people, regardless of nationality. The rates, proportions and levels provided in the 5-year plan are a brilliant expression of the consistent promotion of the policy of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, of harmonious, balanced development of all counties of the country. The 1986-1990 period will inaugurate a new stage in the intensive development of industry, in the modernization of agriculture and the other branches, in the accentuation of the qualitative aspects of economic activity. In accord with these major imperatives, the rates of growth of the indicators of economic and social development will continue to be higher than those that will be achieved at the level of the national economy. In accordance with the basic orientations for the 5-year period, further action will be taken to expand the energy base by developing the production of lignite, which will rise nearly 3-fold, and by raising the output of crude oil and associated gases and of electric power produced in micro hydroelectric power stations. The program for economic and social development of the county in the next 5-year period will be supported by over 9 billion lei in investments; fixed assets valued at over 6.6 billion lei will be put in use.



Closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the working people in Covasna County, regardless of nationality, in indestructible unity and brotherhood, are firmly determined to employ the entire capacity of their brains and brawn in the revolutionary struggle of our people to carry out the decisions of the 13th party congress, making their contribution to raising socialist Romania, our common homeland, to new peaks of socialist civilization.

Starting from our splendid achievements, we will not let anyone denigrate our party's wise and just national policy. The gains of this policy are dear to us, and our common revolutionary accomplishments have asked too much of us for us to let them be endangered. Anyone who tries, in one way or another, to strike at the brotherhood and unity of the sons of our homeland will run into the unity of will of all of us who have a common destiny, a common goal, a common homeland, that in which we were born. Regardless of the origin of our parents, we all speak a single language, the language of the dialectical- and historical-materialistic revolutionary conception. Under any circumstances, we are determined to serve the party, the cause of socialism and communism, of the freedom and independence of our dear homeland, socialist Romania.

#### The Participation of the Whole Populace in the Management of Society

Univ Prof Dr Francisc Albert, Timisoara: In socialist Romania, especially in the years after the ninth congress, the forms of working-class, revolutionary democracy have been developed extensively, there being secured the direct, active participation of all the working people, regardless of nationality, in the management of all sectors of activity, of the whole populace in the conscious forging of its own destiny. This is of particular significance for the profoundly humanistic solution to the national problem, given the fact that the effective participation of all citizens of the country in the exercise of state power, in the management of economic and social life, of the whole society, represents an essential aspect of the providing of full equality in rights. A qualitative leap in historical progress, socialism achieves a new type of democracy, superior to and radically different from that of the orders based on antagonistic classes. The elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the establishment and generalization of socialist production relations and, on this basis, the creation and development of relations of equality and equity among the people in the decisive sphere of their existence and activity, the economic sphere, constitute the chief source of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy also results objectively from the new social, class structure of society, in which, as a result of the abolition of the exploiting classes, there are only classes and strata of working people with common aspirations and basic interests. On a political plane, the superiority of socialist democracy results from the fact that the working people possess the power in the state, they being simultaneously the subject and the object of government, using this power as a chief instrument and an institutional framework for the construction of socialism and communism.

As a result of the concern of our party and its secretary general for continually improving the management and organization of the whole society, there has been created in our country, in the last two decades, a complex, widely

democratic institutional system that, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "secures the participation of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of all the social categories, in the management of society. We have a democratic management system unique of its kind--infinitely superior to any form of bourgeois democracy--a democratic system based on socialist ownership of the means of production, in which the working people, in full cognizance, pass judgment on the entire domestic and foreign policy of the country, on their life and future." This system reflects the original and innovative character of the conception of our party and its secretary general regarding the profoundly democratic nature of the new order. It combines the state elements with the new bodies for democratic management of society, representative democracy with direct democracy, unitary management on a national level with the forms of working-class, revolutionary self-management on all levels, in all fields of economic and social activity.

The Romanian Communist Party, the guiding political force in our socialist society, which organizes and guides the whole society and secures the coordination and amplification of the creative energies of the millions of working people in the work of forging socialism and communism, lies at the center of the system of working-class, revolutionary democracy. The solid unity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, around the Romanian Communist Party expresses the community of interests and ideals of our whole populace.

The system of our socialist democracy is a living, dynamic organism, open to improvements, which are achieved through the creation of new institutions and organizations, through the appearance of new functions of the already existing bodies, through the evolution of the methods of performing old functions, within the framework of a continual process of renovation conforming to the requirements for the general progress of the socialist society. Our party's concern for improving the organizational and institutional framework called upon to help concretely to solve the problems specific to the nationalities in our country, such as the councils of working people of different nationalities, is of particular significance in this regard. Constituting proper bodies with a consultative and representative character, these councils perform within the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, together with the other mass and public organizations, a rich and multilateral activity for involving the Hungarian, German and other-nationality working people in solving the problems with which our society is faced. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu judged, the activity of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality fits into the framework for the broad development of working-class, revolutionary democracy, also securing in this form--within the framework of our democratic system--the discussion of the problems regarding Romania's continual progress along the path of socialism and communism, of our whole nation's well-being and happiness.

With the necessary organizational framework having been created, it is now essential to secure the growth of the participation of the masses in devising and implementing the policy of our party and state, in managing all sectors of activity. This entails, of course, the continual growth of each citizen's responsibility, the strengthening of social discipline and order in all fields of activity. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted, "There is a close unity

between working-class democracy and discipline, order. It is impossible to conceive of democracy without order, without everyone's responsibility in work."

Our socialist democracy also presupposes a complex system of rights, liberties and duties for citizens, laid down in the country's constitution, among which we distinguish economic and social rights--the right to work, to leisure, to material security in old age or in case of a work disability, the right to education and so on--and social and political rights--each citizen's right to participate in political life, the right to elect and to be elected to the bodies of state power on the basis of a universal, equal, direct and secret vote, the right of association, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, the right to personal property, to inheritance and so on. In granting these rights, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania sanctions the basic principle of the equality of all citizens, regardless of sex, nationality and so on, and, at the same time, the guaranteeing of the exercise of them.

At the same time, our socialist democracy also implies the fulfillment of equal duties for all citizens, including the observance of the country's laws, the strengthening, development and protection of socialist property, the observance of labor discipline, the defense of the homeland, a supreme duty of each citizen, and so on.

The rights and duties condition one another: the providing and exercise of the rights presuppose each citizen's effective contribution to the prosperity of society, and the conscientious fulfillment of the duties helps to consolidate and develop the socialist order. From this viewpoint of the dynamic equilibrium, of the complementarity between the civil rights and duties within our working-class, revolutionary democracy, special significance is attached to the judgment contained in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 13th party congress: "While capitalism proclaims formal rights, our socialist society provides the essential rights of man--the right to work, to education, to health care, equal pay for equal work, full equality among citizens regardless of sex or nationality. Of course, this also implies high civil responsibilities, duties of honor to society, to the people's general interests. To benefit from the rights offered by the socialist order and to act responsibly to strengthen it constitute two aspects of socialist democracy that condition one another, securing the homeland's progress, the fulfillment of all the aspirations of well-being and happiness of those who work."

Our socialist democracy manifests its profound humanism by being achieved simultaneously on a political, economic, social and cultural plane. It opens up a clear field for the affirmation of all the working people, regardless of nationality, in their multiple capacities of owners of the means of production, of creators and sole beneficiaries of all material and spiritual assets and values, of makers and implementers of the political and economic decisions, conscious builders of the socialist and communist order on the territory of the common homeland, socialist Romania.

The United Work of the Sons of the Homeland--a Decisive Factor in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 13th Congress

Irina Szabo, secretary of the party committee at the Sfintu Gheorghe "Oltul" Enterprise: Socialist Romania's present appearance and the great achievements obtained by our people, under the glorious Communist Party's leadership, in the years of socialist revolution and construction confirm with the undeniable power of the facts a historical truth formulated by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the speech at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality: "Together we have forged everything that exists in this area; together we have fought against oppression and injustice, for a society without exploiters, a society of social and national justice."

Beneficiaries of the policy of balanced, harmonious development of all areas of the country, the municipality of Sfintu Gheorghe and the other cities and localities in Covasna County are now experiencing new life, new prosperity, demonstrating the brilliant way in which our Communist Party has solved the national problem for good, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception, the principles of scientific socialism. This is why we, the working people, Romanian and Hungarian, at the "Oltul" Textile Enterprise, along with all the citizens of Covasna County, along with the whole populace, firmly reject any attempts to denigrate the splendid achievements obtained by our people, any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Those who want to make sure of these realities only have to come among us, to see live how the true equality among all sons of the homeland who live and work in this area looks, to be convinced that it would be good for such rights to be provided for all citizens everywhere.

The homeland's general progress, the rational distribution of the production forces over the homeland, and the revolutionary, scientific solution to the national problem provide the objective conditions for the affirmation of new relations of mutual respect and trust, of brotherly collaboration, among all sons of the homeland, regardless of nationality. This finds its expression in the appearance of a new phenomenon, of that reality characteristic of socialist Romania that we call, with justified pride, the brotherly unity and friendship among all the working people, regardless of nationality.

The new content of the unity and brotherhood, as it is now configured, is distinguished by several basic components specific to our socialist society: the full unity of interests, aspirations and goals of all citizens of the homeland. What defines the central value of the unity of all who work and live in contemporary Romania, regardless of nationality, is the feeling of revolutionary patriotism, the united work for the flourishing of the common homeland. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "No one asks the people of what national origin they are. The essential thing is how they perform their tasks, what their position is in work for implementing the party's policy. This is the supreme criterion for affirmation of the people! Not the national criterion, but the criterion of the political attitude in the struggle to increase the well-being of all the working people." This is why the main way of strengthening and deepening the unity and brotherhood among all the citizens of the

country, regardless of nationality, consists of united work, the mobilization of their creative efforts to fulfill the common aspirations, the common goal--the forging of the socialist and communist society on the land of Romania.

Participating in the great forum of the Romanian communists, I became even more convinced that the fulfillment of the economic and social objectives set and the decisions adopted by the congress necessarily entails the affirmation of the unity and brotherhood of all the working people, above all, through labor, through the efforts to perform the tasks on the scale of the maximum possibilities. This is precisely why the party committee at the Sfintu Gheorghe "Oltul" Textile Enterprise is acting consistently regarding the education of all who work in the spirit of the high educational and formative values of labor, in order to get each member of the staff to perform a fruitful activity, of a nature to contribute to the homeland's general progress. The objectives of the next 5-year period provide orientations of great mobilizing force for our enterprise. In the 1986-1990 period, 45 million lei will be allocated for the development of new production capacities, through retooling and modernization, which will allow our unit to produce annually, by the end of the next 5-year period, over 32.6 million square meters of fabric, including 7 million meant for exportation.

As a basic patriotic duty, labor must be understood and performed consciously, responsibly. This presupposes high political, professional and specialized training, the thorough mastery of everything that is new and advanced on a national and world level in the field of the profession, the firm combating of any manifestations of routine. As is pointed out in our party's documents, the machine does not ask you of what nationality you are, but if you master it well, if you know its secrets, if you can use it at its full capacity to achieve a high-volume and high-quality output. In our party's view, labor devoted to the homeland, to the socialist society, represents the common language that unites all the creators of material and spiritual values, regardless of their mother tongue, into the united front of those who are forging a new life for themselves and their homeland.

Integrating itself organically into our whole populace's efforts to fulfill the historic decisions of the 13th party congress, our enterprise's party committee has acted and is acting firmly to carry out the programs for the improvement of the technical and qualitative level of the products, to reduce the consumption of raw materials, fuel and energy, seeking especially to raise the level of qualification and polyqualification of the workers, an action that will allow the fulfillment of the provisions of the programs for growth in labor productivity, for improvement in the quality of our products, in their competitiveness both on the domestic market and on the foreign market.

It is a truth fully verified by life, by social practice, that the development of the new order in our country and in other countries depends on the collaboration and solid unity of all citizens. This presupposes the strong affirmation of the consciousness and conviction of all the working people, regardless of nationality, that they form together a single family, building in full equality and brotherly collaboration the same homeland and the same destiny. The force of the new family of all the sons of the homeland is materialized in

the entire economic, social, political and cultural development of socialist Romania, which incorporates the united work, the spirit of creation and the patriotism of all citizens, regardless of nationality. Hence too the urgent requirement of educating the working people, the young people, in the spirit of lasting and durable unity and brotherhood among all sons of the homeland.

The patriotic education and the consolidation of the friendship and brotherhood of the working people require the combating of any nationalistic manifestations, of the attempts to denigrate our people's splendid achievements, with total determination and consistency. This is why we express on this occasion too our full adherence to the remarks of the party's secretary general at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality in December of last year: "Reality shows that such attempts will not find a place in Romania, that our entire populace, all sons of the homeland, under their Communist Party's leadership, are determined to strengthen their unity and collaboration, to do everything to provide a new, free, socialist and communist life here, in Romania, where they were born and live."

The basic values of the unity and brotherhood of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of the unity of our whole populace, express in a concentrated and expressive form the profound conviction that everything that we are accomplishing now and everything that we propose to accomplish in the future provide to all the working people equal working and living conditions, equal conditions for active participation in the management of society, and constitute an immense mobilizing force in the directing of all the energies toward a single goal--the forging of socialism and communism in our common homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

#### The Unity and Brotherhood of All the Working People

Iuliu Fejes, secretary of the Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality: The splendid objectives set by the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party for securing the continual economic progress of society, for developing science and culture, for improving the democratic framework for participation by the people in creating their own destiny, and for raising the standard of living and civilization define strikingly a new, qualitatively higher stage in the implementation of the party's Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism. In the view of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, all the great objectives and programs of social development are worked out together with the people for fulfilling their supreme interests, with the practical attainment of them being the expression of the abnegation, self-sacrifice and united work of all who work, regardless of nationality.

The solid unity of our socialist nation, of the whole populace, around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, now constitutes a reality of life and history, a way of thinking and acting, a way of being that is characteristic of the spirit of justice and equity, of freedom and dignity, that is typical of the socialist society that we are building in Romania. This unity has as a basis a broad process of revolutionary transformations, conducted skillfully by the Romanian Communist Party, on whose banner there

has been and is written as an essential objective the forging of a just society, without exploitation, in which each citizen can live in dignity, in equality and brotherhood, participates in the adoption and implementation of the decisions, can benefit from the results of his labor. "Our continual progress," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the report to the 13th party congress, "is the result of the activity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of our whole populace, closely united around the party--the guiding political force of our socialist nation."

In our long history, the inhabitants of this area, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities, have learned--life itself has taught them--to value mutual respect and esteem, tolerance, equality in obligations and rights both on an individual level and on the scale of the ethnic and national groups, have learned to unite their thoughts, feelings and hands to work and succeed together.

Of course, in this complex and lesson-filled history, the exploiting classes, the retrograde, reactionary forces, have continually conducted a policy of division and separation, have sown hatred, distrust and suspicion, have promoted contempt, intolerance and national exclusivism, actions that, more than once, have ended in ill-fated events and experiences. In the long run, the people's moral and humane force, their profound rationality and humanity, their innate tolerance and good sense have defeated all the irrational forces, hindrances of history, proving that what unites and brings together all who work in a real brotherhood of aspirations and goals is stronger and more durable than any artificial obstacles put in the way of the advance along the path of progress.

Since its creation, the Romanian Communist Party, being guided by the revolutionary ideology of the working class, approaching realistically the existence of the nationalities on the country's territory, has devoted special attention to the national problem, speaking out firmly for full equality in rights for all the working people, fighting continually against any form of social and national exploitation and oppression, against nationalism and chauvinism of any kind, for the protection of the interests of those who work. Over its whole existence, the Romanian Communist Party has regarded the national problem as a component part of the struggle for a new social order, and its resolution as a constituent element of the socialist revolution.

In the process of socialist construction, the national problem has found its just, complete solution on the basis of the Romanian Communist Party's consistently revolutionary, scientific policy, through the establishment of full equality in rights for all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality. Our party viewed the resolution of the national problem in the broad context of Romania's advance along the path of forging the socialist order, starting from the fact that the material and spiritual well-being and the rights and liberties of everyone can be achieved and affirmed only in the context of the country's general development, of the whole populace's freedom and independence.

It is revealing that the party's objectives and goals, the very essence of its strategy and tactics, are set on the revolutionary basis, of exceptional practical value, of the harmonious, multilateral development of the country, of all counties and localities, thus securing the development of the whole social and political edifice, of all categories of the population, regardless of nationality, under conditions of full equality in collective or individual chances, possibilities and aptitudes.

The clear, open, scientific thought of our party's secretary general, which has as a basis reality and the whole populace's traditions of work and struggle for progress and well-being, and the creative, original application of Marxism-Leninism to the socialist and communist construction of the country determine, decisively, the atmosphere and constructive relations of close and sincere friendship and brotherhood among all the working people, regardless of nationality, animated by the great ideas and accomplishments in our years of spectacular revolutionary transformations.

The profoundly democratic, revolutionary solution to the national problem in the process of socialist construction, of raising the whole country to new levels of civilization, has led to the consolidation of the brotherhood of all the working people, conferring on their unity a new quality, an invincible force. Under the democratic conditions provided and guaranteed by the party and state, all citizens of the homeland are expressing openly and sincerely their will to act in close unity, under the leadership of the party and its secretary general.

The solid unity of all the social forces, of all the citizens of socialist Romania, constitutes a living, undeniable reality. It is a reality that pleases us in particular, the citizens of this country, members with equal rights, united in everything that we are accomplishing, it is a reality that all the friends of Romania recognize and view with sympathy.

In the contemporary world, the Romanian people present themselves as a united force that provides great political stability to their country on both a domestic level and an international level. Fully engaged, with total energy and skill, in peacefully building the common homeland, these people, closely united, deeply attached to the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state, are devoted from the bottom of their hearts to the struggle for the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation among states and peoples. The favorable echo in world opinion, the wide appreciation and the prestige of the principled, constructive positions, of the foreign-policy initiatives and actions of Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu have their explanation in the fact that they spring from the scientific conception of the world and life, dialectical and historical materialism, from domestic social and political practice, from the results that we, all sons of this country, regardless of nationality, are obtaining in building a society of man free from exploitation, a society based on equality, fairness and justice, on democracy and well-being.

Consequently, we can state that the unity of the whole populace around the party and its secretary general is now stronger than ever, constituting the guarantee of the invincible solidity of our order, the expression of the



party's identification with the cause of the whole populace. This unity and cohesion, this brotherhood and good understanding constitute one of the major propulsive forces for social progress, for the advance of the homeland.

We do not forget, must not forget for a moment, that various alien views, outlooks of the bourgeois-landlord society, still continue to manifest themselves, that, often, circles abroad present in a distorted way the history of the Romanian people, the history of the cohabitation between Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities in this area, denigrate the achievements of socialism, of our united work and struggle, try to resort to practices long since condemned by history to stir up racial and national hatred, to strike at the vital interests of our people. Toward these attitudes and attempts we have the political, moral, patriotic and revolutionary duty to take a relentless stand of categorical rejection, using the arguments of the facts, of work and lucid reason, to preserve and strengthen the unity of all who live on the land of socialist Romania.

The achievements obtained in all economic and social fields, brought out strikingly by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the report presented at the 13th party congress, represent the high level from which our people will advance to new heights of progress and civilization. The objectives set by the party regarding the growth of national product and national income, the development of industry and agriculture, of science, education and culture, the improvement of social relations and of the management of society, the further raising of the material and spiritual level are generating abnegation and enthusiasm, are causing the even greater strengthening of the whole populace's unity in its work filled with self-sacrifice for the prosperity of our dear homeland--the Socialist Republic of Romania--along the path of socialism and communism.

#### National Unity, a Strong Propulsive Force for Progress

Univ Prof Dr C. Gh. Marinescu, Iasi: The idea of national unity has its roots deeply planted in our historical past. Its most advanced exponents have understood by this, first of all, the necessity of uniting together the efforts of the whole populace, of all the inhabitants of the country, regardless of their national affiliation, to promote and protect common interests and aspirations, social rights and liberties, in the confrontation with the exploiting classes, to defend the ancestral homeland, national independence and sovereignty. The consciousness of national unity has played the role of a strong propulsive force, has stimulated, has actuated the whole nation, has polarized and vitalized its capacities and energies.

In the common confrontation with the vicissitudes of history, with the cruelties of the times, a common patriotic consciousness, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, has been formed and developed, a consciousness of common interests, manifested particularly in the form of solidarity, mutual aid, cooperation, on the basis of mutual respect, their traditions, their own identity. The fact that during the peasant uprising in 1437 in Bobilna and the one led by Gheorghe Doja and in the great people's uprising led by Horea, Closca and Crisan, the Romanian peasants acted together with the Hungarian peasants and those of other nationalities, stood together, shoulder to

shoulder, in close brotherhood and unity, animated by the same interests and goals, aware that only together could they fulfill their aspirations of emancipation, of social and national freedom, constitutes graphic proof in this regard.

In their struggle to gain a status that would confer on them rights equal with the other nations, including the right to self-determination, the Romanians in Transylvania were supported by many statesmen and cultivated people and by the broad masses of Hungarian people. Thus, the Hungarian, German and Serb scholars supported the "memorandist" movement, initiated by the Transylvanian Romanians through "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" in 1791. Many progressive Hungarian organs of the press sided with the cause of the national unity of the Romanians, disavowing the discriminatory, oppressive policy of the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

The unity and brotherhood, the collaboration on many planes among all the working people, regardless of nationality, also found a vivid expression during other national historical events of crucial significance, such as the revolution of 1848, the Great Union of 1918, and the struggle against fascism and war, for the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship and the liberation of Romania from Hitler's domination, it being raised to higher levels and experiencing new, diversified forms of manifestation in the process of building the socialist civilization.

The socialist order offers the objective framework, the economic, political and spiritual conditions, for creating a higher political-national unity of a new type, as a unity of the whole populace. The RCP's profoundly democratic and humanistic, Marxist-Leninist policy of achieving true and full equality among all the working people, regardless of nationality, constitutes the cornerstone of this new unity of our people. In the conception and activity of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for solving the national problem, one can distinguish a number of characteristic traits that indicate this policy's originality and creative character, of which I might mention: the multilateral nature of the rights and liberties given to the whole populace; the providing of their economic, political, cultural and legal basis; the full equality in rights of all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality; the real guaranteeing of these rights; the continual development of the democratism of our whole society; and so on.

Socialism has achieved a radical change as regards the people's equality in political, social and spiritual life as a result of the fact that it has provided, first of all, equality in the sphere of economic life, there being conferred on all the working people the identical status of owners, producers and beneficiaries of all national wealth. Work has become a duty of honor, and the quality of work the sole, supreme criterion for promoting values in society. The economic factor thus constitutes one of the pillars of our people's indestructible unity, since all the working people, regardless of nationality, start in their social action from common interests, involving the development, modernization and efficiency of the socialist economy, as the sole source of growth in national wealth and individual prosperity.

In this regard, it is also noteworthy that, while new workplaces are created in our country from one year to another, from one 5-year period to another, the percentage of the unemployed work force, of the unemployed, according to the official statistics, reaches 10 percent of the population fit for work in the Western capitalist states and even 11 percent in the United States. And it is known that those most affected by the specter of unemployment are precisely the nationalities: the blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans in the United States, the Catalans and Basques in Spain, the Welsh in England, and so on. With good reason, some Western sociologists state that the immigrants and those of other nationalities are the last hired and the first fired.

Life and the realities themselves in our country point out strongly the affirmation of the personality and the identity of each nationality, refuting, with the incontestable argument of the facts, the biased statements of exponents of conservatism or of nationalism and revisionism who feel that industrialization, the modernization of our national economy, the development of the production forces, the processes of urbanization and so on would lead, allegedly, to the deterioration of national traditions, to the "assimilation" of the nationalities, to the so-called "Romanization" of them, to the blurring of ethnic characteristics and so on.

Naturally, our people's national unity has a political determination and dimension, a reflection of the social and economic conditions to which we referred, it being vividly illustrated by the existence of a complex institutional system that secures the affirmation of our political regime's democracy, of working-class, revolutionary democracy. Our institutional-democratic system, unique of its kind, allows a striking manifestation of the people's sovereignty, an extensive dialogue between the party and the people, between the state and the masses of people, the harnessing of the initiatives, of the opinions and suggestions of the masses. In this framework, the nationalities have, besides their own bodies, the profoundly democratic right to designate spokesmen of their own to all the central and local bodies of state power and administration. The broad prerogatives and attributes of the working people's general assemblies and councils and of the other bodies for working-class, revolutionary democracy, the improvement of their methods and style of working, and the closer and closer collaboration between the state bodies and the bodies for working-class democracy all represent so many dimensions of the political system's democratism and of the national relations in our country, securing the active participation of all the working people, regardless of nationality, in the management of society, in the resolution of public problems.

Our people's national unity is strongly propelled by the continual development and flourishing of spiritual life, which, being based on the revolutionary ideology of the working class, scientific socialism, provides a community of thought, of aspirations and ideals. It is a great victory of our socialist society that full equality has been guaranteed to all the working people, regardless of nationality, not only in the work process, not only in economic and political life, but also in spiritual life, with true democratism being promoted in the sphere of culture, there being equalized the chances of individuals to acquire cultural values, to utilize their aptitudes and capacities. The affirmation of literature in the Hungarian, German and other languages

represents graphic proof in this regard. At the same time, it is noteworthy that in the number of students per 10,000 inhabitants (80-90) Romania is, from this viewpoint, in the ranks of the developed countries of the contemporary world, a situation from which all citizens of our homeland benefit abundantly, effectively. A graphic aspect, in the sense of the spiritual interaction, seems to us to be that, for instance, in Iasi, in the institutions of higher learning, along with the Romanian students there are also several hundred Romanian students of Hungarian, German and other nationality.

All these great achievements of socialist Romania on the plane of solving the national problem have caused our state's national policy, despite the revisionist and irredentist denigrations and distortions, despite the bourgeois ideology on the whole, to now arouse wide international interest, it enjoying more and more favorable opinions, laudatory judgments. A number of Western authors and statesmen say unreservedly, on the basis of documented information, that what Romania has achieved in the field of the national problem constitutes an example for the Western states in which this problem is especially acute. An American author, J. Gondahild, stated that what Romania has offered to the nationalities represents only wishes for many national minorities in western Europe.

The new social and class structures, the process of homogenization of society, and the stronger and stronger affirmation of the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party represent the guarantee of the continual strengthening of the moral and political unity of our people.

In the view of our party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the people's unity does not represent a phenomenon in itself, a mere theoretical concept, but must become more and more, in proportion to the advance along the path of socialism, a propulsive force for progress, for the continual improvement of our economic and social life, for the implementation of the program for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society, for the fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the 13th RCP Congress; the strengthening of this unity is the sine qua non for the raising of socialism's powers and values to higher levels, the growth of the well-being of the masses, national independence and sovereignty, the growth of Romania's prestige in the world arena. As the party's secretary general pointed out in the speech at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality, this requires our entire ideological, political and educational front to contribute to a greater degree to the patriotic education of all citizens of the country, firmly rejecting all attempts of the reactionary, imperialist forces, of revisionist, irredentist circles, to denigrate our national policy, to undermine our people's solid unity, socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty.

[25 Feb 85 pp 19-32]

[Text] We publish in this issue of the magazine the second part\* of the abridged shorthand record of the symposium on the topic "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Conception Regarding

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\* The first part of the discussion was published in No 3, 1985.

the Nation and the National Problem. The Resolution of the National Problem in Socialist Romania," organized, in Sfintu Gheorghe, by the Covasna County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy.

#### The Consciousness of the Community of Origin and of the Continuity of the Romanian People

Lt Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army: The topic subjected to discussion at our scientific gathering is more than timely, it being an intrinsic component of the ideological program adopted by the Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982 and made, through the high decision of the 13th congress, an integral part of the party's Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism. Thus, in his masterly speech given at the plenum in June 1982, the party's secretary general stated that "the establishment of the Romanian people's place in history, of their origin and continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian basin, constitutes the foundation of any ideological, theoretical and political-educational activity."

The consciousness of the community of origin and of the continuity of the Romanian people in the vast Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area has its source in our basic legacy--Dacia, the abode of formation and affirmation of their ancestors, the Geto-Dacians--in the uninterrupted existence of the same people, with the same language, with the same forms of life, using in common all of their cultural, scientific and artistic creation. Not by chance, the generations of socialist Romania have incorporated into their spiritual makeup the consciousness of the incontestable truth of the antiquity, unity and unbroken continuity of the people to whom they belong in the same millennia-old Dacian abode, the consciousness that they are the descendants and continuers of a people who, through its ancestors, as Nicolae Iorga judged, has "roots four millennia old; this is our pride and this is our power." In unison, the ancient written sources, supported by the power of archeological arguments, show that our ancestors were born and lived without interruption in this area from time immemorial.

A northern branch of the Thracians, the Geto-Dacians were the creators of one of the great civilizations of the ancient world, comparable to the ones that existed in those times around the Mediterranean basin. Moreover, the Dacian people's prodigious development in the time of Burebistas and Decebalus rested on a foundation of historical life of many hundreds of thousands of years, but especially on the legacy from the Bronze Age and the first part of the Iron Age. Under the leadership of wise and able men, through honest work filled with self-sacrifice, the Geto-Dacian people provided both a strong material and spiritual flourishing of society and high political and state organization, which attained the culmination in the time of Burebistas and Decebalus.

Along the multimillennial line of the Romanian people's history, the centralized and independent Dacian state, created by Burebistas, was, in Nicolae

Iorga's opinion, "the first state founding among all those descensusus of which the Hungarian documents speak, among all those state foundings in the Romanian historical legend." An inscription discovered in Dionysopolis (now Balaci), dating from 48 B.C., considered Burebistas "the first and greatest of the kings of Thrace and ruler of all the areas on the other side and on this side of the river." "Coming to the fore of his people," the historian and geographer Strabon wrote, "the Getan Burebistas raised them so much...that in a few years he forged a strong state and subjected most of the neighboring populations to the Getae; he even came to be feared by the Romans." Burebistas' vast and flourishing state was the prologue to the Dacia of the 1st century B.C., led by Decebalus, the hero king, especially "clever in battle plans and skillful in implementing them," as the ancient historian Cassius Dio characterized him.

From the viewpoint of the topic that we are discussing, this historical legacy--Dacia--is, in our opinion, of particular significance not only as an abode of formation and development of the Geto-Dacian people and then the Romanian people but also as a territory on which both a human presence and a material and spiritual civilization of a special stamp, as well as uninterrupted state life, existed all along. Italian Anton Maria del Chiaro Fiorentino, in "Storia delle Moderne Revoluzioni della Valachia" ("The History of the Modern Revolutions in Walachia"), wrote: "The whole stretch of land of today is called Walachia, it is part of ancient Dacia, in which the provinces called Transylvania, Walachia and Moldavia by today's geographers were included.... In their language they call themselves Romanians, their homeland, that is, Walachia, the Romanian country, and their language the Romanian language...." In the same regard, George Calinescu wrote: "We are, at bottom, Getae, and the Getae represent one of the oldest autochthonous peoples of Europe, contemporary with the Greeks, the Celts, the Italian groups preceding the Roman Empire. This Roman Empire found here an old state, warred against it and defeated it with difficulty."

In fact, in its expansion to the northeast, the Roman Empire met the heroic and long opposition of Decebalus' Dacia, which constituted both a true bastion, shielded by the Carpathians, in the face of the invasions from the north, outflanking to the east the more and more menacing Germanic bloc, and a great economic force, it being considered due to its riches a true El Dorado of the ancient world, the loot from which was to remedy the serious crisis through which the Eternal City was passing.

The confrontation between the two powers of the ancient world was extremely harsh and long. After exhausting efforts, the Roman Empire managed to occupy part of Dacia, a matter that meant the dissolution of the state, the main instrument in the organization of the Dacian people's life and activity, and the loss of their independence and sovereignty. In the areas still remaining beyond Roman occupation, the Dacian people's life followed its course in its earlier style, with the free Dacians there or in Greater Dacia continuing the ties on an economic and cultural plane with the population in Roman Dacia. This is the place for us to stress, in order to understand better the problem of the consciousness of the community of origin and of the continuity of the Romanian people, the fact that the Dacian people could not be conquered and,

much less, were not destroyed during the wars waged against the Romans. Referring to this truth, A. D. Xenopol pointed out, with the integrity of the scholar deeply knowledgeable of national and world history, that "the tribe of the Dacians did not perish in the totality of its being; only the tree's crown was cut off; the trunk remained filled with nourishing sap, and with the Romanian element being grafted onto it, the foundation was laid for those people who now bear, on a Dacian body and energy, the predisposition toward the civilization inherited from the Romans."

The basic idea, widely reflected in first-rate sources and in judgments of a large number of Romanian and foreign scientists and cultivated people, is that the Romanian people arose, were formed and asserted themselves in their true identity about two millennia ago, and not in the 9th, 10th or 13th century, as some foreign historians, guided by interests beyond science and objective truth, assert without any grounds. In contrast to such unscientific and biased assertions, it is necessary to point out with complete assurance the historical truth according to which the Romanian people constitute a direct, legitimate and unbroken continuation of the Geto-Dacian people, who took from the Romans their language and the elements of their civilization in the period of direct contact with Roman civilization, brought by the Roman administration and colonists.

The consciousness of the community of origin and of the continuity of the Romanian people in their ancestral abode thus has profound and real historical determinations. The withdrawal of the Roman legions and administration from Dacia to the south of the Danube, between 271 and 275 A.D., did not also mean the migration of the Romanians. Moreover, Romanian and foreign historians of repute have demonstrated, on the basis of first-rate sources, of linguistic proof, of archeological evidence, the impossibility of such a phenomenon. It is enough for us to cite in this regard just two pieces of evidence--from the countless existing--equally reasoned and illustrative. The first of them belongs to German scholar T. Thunmann: "The Walachians on this side of the Danube (north of the river--our note) are brothers to those in Macedonia, descendants of the Thracians, who, under the name of Getae and Dacians, played such a significant role.... It cannot be agreed that Emperor Aurelian would have shifted across the Danube all the inhabitants of Dacia; undoubtedly, many yet remained in a country so big and so mountainous. During the invasions of the Vandals, Goths, Huns, Gepids, Slavs, Avars and Bulgarians, they sought refuge in their mountains.... The invasion of the Hungarians, in 896, found them in Transylvania and in Hungary on this side of the Danube. The anonymous notary of King Bela IV says this.... The Walachians also lived from time immemorial in Walachia and Moldavia." We owe the second piece of evidence to Ernst Gamillschegg. In a passage equally illustrative of Romanian continuity north of the Danube and of the importance of the Romanians in the general history of the eastern part of Europe, he stated: "It is considered a miracle of history that the Romanians north of the Danube not only were able to preserve their nationality for over 1,500 years, after the invasions of the barbarians, but also still had the power to assimilate a long string of other peoples.... But, if the Romanian language became the language of circulation among all these peoples, this is not a freak of chance. Such a language of

circulation was indispensable in the eastern part of Europe at the start of the Middle Ages."

The Romanian people's continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area is also indicated by the new forms of political, administrative and military organization set up after the withdrawal of the Roman administration. Thus, the peasantry continued to be the main demographic factor, this especially as, beginning in the second half of the 3d century, we witness a marked process of ruralization, a phenomenon that was also found in other areas of Europe. Giving expression to this reality, Nicolae Iorga wrote: "We are thus now at the height of peasantry, which will be handed down in all forms and under all reigns, going through the centuries," and "popular Dacia is that which established, developed and preserved the Romanian language." The organization was based on rural, communal or territorial communities, which, with the expansion of the economic, political, cultural and scientific ties among them, united into the popular Romans, as a form of organization--political, administrative and military. As I. H. Radulescu noted, "In the Middle Ages, Dacia was well known throughout Europe..., the civil and military organization in Dacia was exemplary."

A charter of the Romanian people's existence and continuity in their ancestral abode, the principalities, whose process of formation was perceptible back in the 5th century, represented in fact a concretization of the tendencies toward the restoration of the old unity, toward the achievement of a strong unitary Romanian national state over the whole Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area. In proportion to the development of the production forces and the consciousness of the community of origin and descent, the Romanians intensified their efforts to attain their ideals of unity and progress, succeeding in forming independent feudal states--Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania--in the middle of the 14th century. The lawlike tendency of union of all the Romanians into a single state, Nicolae Iorga judged justifiably, "existed when this idea had not entered the heads of the scholars."

The existence and durability of the three Romanian states--Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania--in the abode of ancient Dacia constituted the manifestation of state pluralism over the Romanian territory. This political phenomenon, as is known, was not an unusual case. Throughout medieval Europe one notes the existence--after an initial phase, characterized by a relatively unitary feudal state--of an era of political and territorial division. State pluralism was not, therefore, a specifically Romanian political phenomenon but corresponded to a structural reality of medieval society in Europe. It cannot be confused with ethnic pluralism and does not represent an expression of a multitude of peoples within the same territory. The existence of a Sardo-Piedmontese kingdom and a Neapolitan kingdom, for example, did not affect the historical development of one and the same people, the Italian people. Likewise, the existence of a state of Walachia, along with those of Moldavia and Transylvania, did not alter the Romanian people's ethnic unity. The three Romanian medieval countries cannot be regarded at all as proof of ethnic pluralism: there are no Moldavian, Transylvanian or Walachian people different from the Romanian people. The appellatives "Walachians," "Moldavians," "Oltenians," "Transylvanians," "Banatani" [inhabitants of Banat], "Maramureseni"



[inhabitants of Maramures], "Bucovineni" [inhabitants of Bukovina], "Dobrogeni" [inhabitants of Dobruja] or--more specific ones--"Moti" (in the Apuseni Mountains). "Vrinceni" (in Vrancea), "Argeseni" (in Arges) and so on are wholly subsumed under the general name "Romanian people." To say otherwise is like trying to demonstrate that there are Bavarian people different from the German people, and so on. The continuation of state pluralism up to the middle of the modern era is not a specifically Romanian phenomenon either. It is known from history that two other great peoples of Europe--the Italians and the Germans--also achieved their national unity in the second half of the 19th century. However, there were also particular factors that explain the temporary existence of a unitary feudal state of the Romanians during the Middle Ages. It is a question, mainly, of the interference of foreign powers that prevented lasting political cohesion in the Dacian area and, particularly, of the existence of the three big empires--Ottoman, Hapsburg and czarist--around the Romanian countries. Their interests were always opposed to a unitary Romanian state, whose creation was prevented by force in the Middle Ages and then in the modern era; subsequently, the pressures, interference and annexations of the neighboring empires delayed, until 1918, the consummation of our national unity. Only after the disappearance of Russian czarism and Austrian absolutism--as the great Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini had predicted even before 1848, when the Ottoman Empire was already the "invalid" of Europe--were the Romanians to gain their autonomy, freedom and justice.

The existence of the Romanian countries as separate feudal states did not affect the Romanian people's unity, expressed in the geographic harmony of the entire territory, in the community of language and culture, in the similarity of the economic and social structures and so on. Close political, economic and spiritual ties were continually maintained among the Romanian feudal states. French scholar Jules Michelet noted in this regard the fact that our people "preserve intact all that their ancestors left to them: the costume, the customs, the language and, in particular, the great name of Romanians!" In addition, the famous German geographer Heinrich Kiepert wrote, in 1878, that "the circle within which the Romanian language is now spoken on this side of the Danube falls precisely on the borders of ancient Dacia." In his turn, Hungarian historian Andras Huszti wrote, in 1740, that "no nation has a language so close to the old Roman language as the nation of the Walachians, which is a sure sign that reveals that they in Transylvania are the descendants of the old Roman colonies." Nearly a century before him, (Sibian) scholar Johannes Troster, the author of a work about Dacia (1666), was to observe that "the Romanians of today who live in Walachia, Moldavia and the mountains of Transylvania are none other than the descendants of the Roman guard legions,...according to their origin, they are the noble Romans, the oldest inhabitants of this country (Transylvania--our note)."

Back in the 15th century, the idea of the antiquity and continuity of the Romanians north of the Danube was deeply rooted in the European consciousness of the era. Byzantine chronicler Laonic Chalcocondil, for instance, called the Romanians north of the river "Dacians," who preserved the language of their ancestors and who resembled the Italians "in the makeup of their everyday life and make use of the same weapons and the same tools even now as the Romans." The chronicler of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, Antonio

Bonfini, and classical scholars of European scope, such as Pietro Ransano or Filippo Buonacorsi, affirmed peremptorily, in the 15th century, the ancient origin of the Romanians, their unbroken continuity on the territory of ancient Dacia. Naturally, a linguistic unity, into which the allogeneous communities were also integrated, also corresponded to the Romanian ethnic unity in the ancient area of Dacia.

In the centuries of the vast demographic movements, some migratory populations settled in our country's vicinity, and relations of friendship and mutual aid were established between them and the Romanian people in the course of time. In this extremely tumultuous period, some populations, such as the Szeklers, Hungarians, Germans, Slavs, Tartars and others, also settled in territories inhabited by Romanians, linking their fate forever with our people, working and living together, contributing together to material and spiritual progress, fighting side by side for freedom and independence, for social justice and a better life.

As regards the colonization of Romanian territory by the Szeklers, a Hungarian chronicler from the end of the 13th century, Simon de Keza, stated that they "did not live on the Pannonian plain, but together with the Romanians in the mountains on the edge, where--being mixed with the Romanians--the Szeklers learned their writing." Despite the fact that their origin has been linked sometimes to the Huns and sometimes to the Gepids or Avars, their name obviously means "people of the chairs" (Szek), which corresponds to the old Romanian word for chairs. The Teutonic Knights, settling on Romanian territory in 1211, established for the Szeklers the settlements in the southeast corner of Transylvania (called by names of saints to this day) and certain military organization was allowed to the latter in order to take over the function of the former when they left the province. But the Romanians already existed in this edge of Transylvania too and "from one century to another," Nicolae Iorga noted, "the unprivileged Romanian population found it advantageous to turn to these Szeklers, free peasants, armed, entrusted with an important military and political function. The name, as well as the appearance, and sometimes the adherence to the Orthodox Church demonstrate this fact sufficiently." This explains the fact that, although at the time of colonization the number of Szeklers was extremely small (that is, around 3,000), after 800 years, according to the census in 1930, they represented a community that numbered around 400,000 people. Over the years, the Szeklers preserved their way of life, institutions and organization, distinct from those of the Hungarians, and fought, in many situations, together with the Romanians against the Hungarian and then Ottoman and Tartar attacks.

It is known that the Szeklers participated actively in many battles waged by Michael the Brave, including the battle at Neajlov and that at Selimbar, like they also accompanied Michael the Brave in the fight for the union of all the Romanian countries--Transylvania, Walachia and Moldavia--just like they also had fought under the banners of Stephen the Great, Petru Rares and other rulers of Transylvania and Moldavia, like, moreover, they fought alongside Romanians and other inhabitants of other nationalities in this area. This solidarity and this common struggle of the Romanians, Hungarians and Szeklers also manifested themselves strongly in the peasant uprisings in Bobilna, in the

peasant war in 1514, led by Gheorghe Doja, initiated and affirmed on the Romanian territories, in the revolutionary movements in 1703-1711, led by Ferenc Rakoczi II, who united--under the banner on which "For the Homeland, for Freedom" was written--the Romanian population and the Hungarian population, in the great popular uprising in 1784, led by Horea, Closca and Crisan, and so on. All these things demonstrate that the common struggle of the Romanians and the nationalities against foreign invaders, for the unity of the Romanian countries and the formation of a strong centralized state that would provide living conditions, conditions for developing the production forces, conditions for well-being and happiness, was a historical achievement, it being, as our party's secretary general stated, "a lawlike requirement, an aspiration of all the inhabitants of this area, regardless of nationality."

In socialist Romania, the national problem has been solved for good, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception, the principles of scientific socialism, with full equality in rights being provided to all citizens of the homeland, this being an inseparable part of the process of socialist revolution and construction. This policy has been worked out and put into practice by the Romanian Communist Party since the taking of power, but especially after the ninth congress, a landmark in our homeland's contemporary history, which has led to the achievement of the moral and political unity of our people, to the unity of all its sons, regardless of nationality. Consequently, any attempt at diversion with regard to the so-called national problem in Romania does nothing but misinform the working people or the population in the respective countries and contribute to the worsening of the relations between peoples and countries. "It is no accident," the party's secretary general stated at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality in December 1984, "that, as we obtain greater and greater achievements in the construction of socialism in our homeland, the most reactionary, imperialist, neofascist, Horthyist circles, in their hatred for socialism, defame and slander the realities in Romania.... We must firmly reject the attempts of such circles to interfere in our internal affairs, to distort and falsify the realities in Romania!"

The unitary Romanian people include all citizens of the homeland--Romanians, Romanians of Hungarian nationality, Romanians of German nationality, Romanians of other nationalities--closely united around the Romanian Communist Party, which forms the vital center of the entire nation. Stressing our people's unitary character, the party's secretary general stated at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982: "We have a people, a country in which Romanians as well as working people of Hungarian, German and Serb origin or of other nationalities live together. But we all represent a single people--and we do not let anyone try to strike at the unity of our people." At the same time, the party's secretary general specified: "Regardless of the parents to whom one or another was born, we all are sons of the same homeland, of Romania! And we all must perform our duties, must do everything so that we have a better, freer, more and more fruitful and independent life in Romania!"

The consciousness of the community of origin and of the continuity of the Romanian people in the vast Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area became, in the course of time, a strong propulsive force in the Romanian people's struggle to

protect their own being, unity, independence and state integrity, to secure their continual climb toward freedom and dignity, progress and well-being. It also preserves intact its moral and political values under the current conditions, when--in a new climate of life and work, generated by the Romanian Communist Party's profoundly scientific policy of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and by the historic decisions of the 13th party congress--all citizens of the country have unlimited conditions provided for fully affirming their personality, for putting their entire capacity and energy in the service of the development and flourishing of the homeland.

#### The Solid Foundation of the Historical Truth

Col Dr Gheorghe Tudor, deputy director of the Center for Studies and Research on Military History and Theory: The scientific approach shows that for the Romanian people the foundations of the consciousness of the community of origin and of continuity are--as has been stated here--many millennia old, being laid in the Thracian and Geto-Dacian world. "In our country," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "the consciousness of the decisive role that the Thracians, that is, the Geto-Dacians, played in the formation of the Romanian people has stimulated historical research as far back as in the last century. The contributions made in this field by illustrious scholars and cultivated people, such as B. P. Hasdeu, Gr. Tocilescu, V. Parvan and G. G. Mateescu, have enriched, in equal measure, both the representative achievements of Romanian science and the patrimony of world knowledge."

On the solid foundation of the historical truth, Frenchman A. Armand wrote, half a century ago, that "the Romanian people are the finest historical example of continuity of descent; indeed, they are one of the oldest peoples in Europe.... However, whether it is a question of Thracians..., Getae or Dacians, the inhabitants of the Romanian land have remained the same, from the Neolithic--the age of polished stone--to our times, thus supporting, through an example perhaps unique in the history of the world, the continuity of descent.... The country in which the Romanians now live thus constitutes their homeland of old."

The Romanian people have a single and indivisible history, are one of the oldest peoples on the continent, are the only people in southeast Europe who did not come from somewhere else, being descended from the great tribe of the Thracians, as old as the hills themselves; they are one of the few peoples on the continent who have never changed their ancestral abode, defined by the Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea. As a result, their history readily flows into and forms part of European history and world history, it being a part which the whole cannot do without.

Individualized back in the 6th century B.C., within the great and strong tribe of the Thracians, the Geto-Dacians asserted themselves more and more as a people forging a flourishing material and spiritual civilization and, at the same time, as an active participant in the construction of the political and state map of ancient times. The Geto-Dacian people had the privilege of being mentioned quite specifically in the works of well-known authors of ancient times, especially in connection with their main wars. Much of this knowledge

and information refers to the final confrontation between the Dacians and the Romans, specifically to the wars between Decebalus and Trajan, at the end of which the Roman Empire managed to conquer part of Dacia and to turn it into a province of its. We thus come to a moment of crucial significance for understanding the topic that we are discussing, since "the victory of the Romans," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "inaugurated a long period of cohabitation in which the blending of Dacian and Romanian civilization became more marked." From the cohabitation of the Dacians with the Romans there arose a new people--the Romanian people--who were to fulfill, in an existence of nearly two millennia, a heroic, tumultuous and splendid destiny, developing continually and asserting themselves strongly among the peoples and, today, the nations of the world. "Like all enduring things," Vasile Parvan pointed out, "the founding of our nation did not thus happen all at one and all of a sudden. The wars of Emperor Trajan of the Romans with King Decebalus of the Dacians were not the beginning but the end of the founding of our people. The first sowings with Romanian seed along our Danube were 200 years older."

As "people of the land," the Romanians had the consciousness of the community of origin and of the continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area long before it was expressed as a fertile idea in literature; it was manifested, as JUNIMEA ROMANIA mentioned in June 1851, in the continual work and striving of the peasant, in the heart of the brave captains and lords, was the national sentiment in all areas of Romania since history began to say anything about Dacia. Indeed, back at the end of the 3d century A.D., after the withdrawal of the Romanian administration, there was a marked process of restoration of the unity of Dacia, during which the Romanian people turned to new forms of political, social and economic organization. In the opinion of well-known Romanian historians, we are dealing with an "autonomous and Christian" Dacia. Nicolae Iorga wrote that around 400 A.D. there existed on the Danube's left bank "Romania and anyone who inhabits it retains the name 'Romanian.'"

It is noteworthy that, on an organizational plane, the community of origin was materialized in the continuation of traditions of the Dacian people and in the existence of identical political and social forms. Ion Heliade Radulescu referred to this continuity when he stated: "We have before us not a bone, but the whole skeleton of our ancient institutions!" This is a reality that should not be surprising, since the perpetuation of the forms and methods of political and administrative organization is explained by the fact that the Geto-Dacian people were the basic ethnos in the formation of the Romanian people, who were formed "on a Dacian body and energy," or, as George Calinescu put it, "through the Roman penetration a new people did not arise, but a very old people was changed by the influence of another, new one."

The Romanian people found on the homeland's territory, in their own history, the resources needed for organizing their life and activity in relation to the new conditions, and their force and vitality successfully passed the hard test of the great demographic movements that swept like a hurricane over the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area. Thus, in a historically short interval, there were seven invasions of the Turanian populations and three of those of Germanic origin, which destroyed important production forces and impeded the evolution of Romanian society toward progress. The Romanian people not only

withstood the waves of the migratory populations that swept across this portal of history but also emerged strengthened from these trials.

The formation of the independent feudal states around the middle of the 14th century, under complex conditions, represented one of the most significant performances of the Romanian people, expressing their contribution to the accentuation of the process of composition of the political map of medieval Europe, as well as, at the same time, a materialization of the consciousness of their community of origin and their continuity. As has been stated here, state pluralism did not affect the Romanian people's ethnic unity, their unitary development--expressed in the community of language and culture, in the similarities of the economic, social and cultural structures of the whole territory inhabited by Romanians. "The stormy time of the Middle Ages had divided the land of the Romanians into three countries--Transylvania with Banat, Moldavia and Walachia--but the tradition of a life in common and the desire to establish it again had remained alive in the hearts of the Romanians," Nicolae Balcescu wrote. Close political, economic and spiritual ties were continually maintained among the Romanian countries; they as well as the internal organization (the court, the high offices, the law, the army, other feudal institutions), generally identical or similar, all constitute so much proof of the consciousness of the community of origin and of the continuity of the Romanian people in their ancient and never changed abode. Because "what always characterized--over this long period--the life and struggles of the Romanians," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "were the close, permanent ties among the principalities on this territory, then among Moldavia, Transylvania and Dobruja.... It is fitting to say this now, in order to remind certain historians who praise imperialist domination, the invasion of peoples, and who try to insult the Romanian nation."

The consciousness of the community of origin, language and descent caused the Romanians to understand better and better that all the territories inhabited by them composed a harmonious and strong unit, a unit defined by Nicolae Iorga as "a single body, a single system of veins, I might say, through which passes the same lifeblood." Barbu Stefanescu-Delavrancea regarded the continuity and unity of the Romanians as "vigorous lifeblood, passed from generation to generation."

The scientific substantiation of the idea of the unity of descent, language and ethnic origin of all Romanians by our people's chroniclers and scholars in all three provinces was added, happily, to the people's collective consciousness, which received, stored and transmitted as a living flame, from generation to generation, the idea of the community of origin and language. Written in Iasi, Bucharest or Transylvania, the chronicles were in fact a highly valuable asset of all Romanians, with the same undeniable truth being affirmed in them--the Daco-Roman origin, the continuity and the unity of descent, language and territory of the whole Romanian populace. Moreover, Miron Costin told us this explicitly when he wrote that he intended to bring "to view the people's nature, from what source and peoples the inhabitants of our country, Moldavia and Walachia and the Romanians in the Hungarian countries come."

The works of the chroniclers and scholars who lived south or north of the chain of the Carpathians constitute pertinent evidence of the common origin and language of all the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, of the pulse of the consciousness of the people in continual evolution and maturation. The union of all the provinces inhabited by Romanians was dictated not only by their historical rights but also by the traditional, moral, ethnolinguistic and economic structures themselves, structures that demonstrated their vitality over the centuries. At the same time, the most significant moments in which the Romanians, under the leadership of great voivodes, succeeded in obtaining great successes in the struggle to give political and state expression to the consciousness of the community of origin and language of the Romanian people were put into the scientific circuit. The epochal moment in 1600, when, under the scepter of Michael the Brave, the first union of the Romanian countries was achieved, was more and more often conveyed to the national consciousness. By this, historian Grigore Tocilescu remarked, "Michael has remained forever the national hero of all Romanians, the symbol of union of the brothers separated by cruel fate and by invading neighbors."

The fact that up to 1918, when the Great Union was achieved, we can speak and write about the Romanian countries--Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania--as a reality, about their struggle for freedom and unity, is of the most profound significance. Expressing this reality, historian Nicolae Iorga stated: "Any others would have scattered to the four winds. Even the sweetest homelands are abandoned for less. We have stayed. With sword in hand on guard to all horizons, and when it was broken for a while, in order to fix it again, solid steel, we extended to brutality the subtle weapon of our intelligence. And behold, we are still here." Along the same line of thinking, in the preface to the Romanian edition of the work "To Learn To Be," Edgar Faure stated: "Romania is, indeed, in many respects, our Latin sister in the heart of the European east--such a courageous sister, whose fidelity to our common linguistic origin, surprisingly maintained during the great invasions and then the fierce battles against the Ottoman Empire, has perhaps not always been appreciated by us with sufficiently admiring gratitude."

In the light of such realities, the falsity of the attempts of so-called historians abroad who have made it a shameful practice of theirs to slander, denigrate and distort the history of the Romanian people seems even clearer. "Some historians," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982, "are now trying to support the theory of the existence, during a certain period, of a void in the Carpathian-Danubian area. I believe that they received the answer long ago. In the first place, the more advanced and cultivated peoples themselves of those times answered this question by speaking about the inhabitants and principalities existing in the Carpathian-Danubian area--and I believe that they were more knowledgeable than some historians of today who try to seem omniscient and to deny the realities, to deny what is the result of historical development. Mircea, Stephen the Great, Ioan de Hunedoara, Michael the Brave gave the answer to it. Those who defeated Bayazid, who confronted so many conquerors, who achieved the first centralized state of the Romanians in Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. They did not come from somewhere else, they did

not drop from the sky, they lived and were born here, on this land, and defended it with their blood."

The fact that at the end of the first millennium of our era and in the early centuries of the second, populations of other nationalities--Hungarians, Szeklers, Germans, Saxons, Swabians, and later even others--also settled in the ancestral homeland of the Romanian people does not mean that a demographic void would have existed in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area. On the contrary, from that moment, their history merged with that of the Romanian people, it being characterized, as has already been mentioned here, by the common struggle against feudal oppression, against foreign invaders, for independence, for a better life. "Anyone who knows a little about the life of our people," Nicolae Iorga stated, "knows that their greatest attribute is that they present themselves as a unit, are all of a piece, so to speak. What can be more beautiful than a column from a single block of stone, an immense tree whose whole life extends without interruption from the bottom of the roots to the crown, where the eagles of the air gather."

Consequently, Daco-Roman continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, far from constituting "an instrument of state political power against the nationalities," as some authors abroad write, represents an undeniable reality and historical truth, the solid foundation of the cohabitation and the common struggle of all the sons of our homeland, regardless of nationality, for social and national freedom, for unity, independence and sovereignty, for the forging of the most just order on the land of Romania.

Through the common struggle, under the Romanian Communist Party's leadership, the working people in our country, regardless of nationality, carried out the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and then the socialist revolution. The unwavering determination with which our whole populace is acting to implement the Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism and the historic decisions of the 13th congress makes evident our nation's solid unity around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, its firm will to raise the socialist homeland to new heights of civilization and progress.

#### The Unity of Our People in the Ancestral Abode

Dr Zoltan Szekely, director of the Covasna County Museum and chairman of the County Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality: In the years of socialist construction, especially after the ninth congress, Romanian historiography has undergone unprecedented development. Utilizing the innovative opportunities produced by this historic congress, the researchers have tackled, in the light of dialectical materialism, in the spirit of truth, a number of major problems of the homeland's history. Their activity has been integrated organically into our whole populace's creative efforts to build a new order on the land of Romania. The highly responsible social mission of the historians was brought out with great farsightedness by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who pointed out that "the value of a truly scientific history lies in the objective presentation of the facts, in the



correct interpretation of them, thus constituting a reflection of the self-awareness of the people, of the classes, concentrating the experience of life and struggle of the masses and the leaders."

The researchers of the museums in the country, also including those of the Museum of Sfintu Gheorghe, have also taken part in the work of researching and uncovering the truth about our historical past. Our archeological research has turned up the fact that, back in the Bronze Age, in the second millennium B.C., there also settled in southeast Transylvania the Thracian tribes, whose relics of material culture have been discovered in settlements and cities such as those at Sfintu Gheorghe, Biborteni, Turia, Lutoasa and Valea Seaca. The material culture of the Dacians from the end of the first part or the start of the second part of the Iron Age is known from the settlements discovered at Biborteni, Bicsadul Oltului, Ozun, Cernat and Anghelus. At Cernat, Dacian settlements have been discovered in two places. A Dacian settlement sitting on a mountain top was placed over a settlement from the first part of the Iron Age. The hoard of money discovered at Hilib and brought intact to the collection of the Museum of Sfintu Gheorghe dates from the early period of the reign of the great Dacian King Burebistas, when the Dacian tribes, also including those that lived in this area, were united under a single ruler. Data referring to the conquest of this part of Dacia by the Romans and to some aspects of cultural life in the 1st century B.C. have been furnished to us by the diggings done in the ancient city in Covasna, in Zine Valley; it is the only city in southeast Transylvania that, in the system of construction, as well as in its dimensions, can be compared to some cities in west Dacia, known and researched longer. The city in Zine Valley sits on a mountain top arranged in three terraces, surrounded by a stone wall of slabs fastened to one another by earth. On the second terrace, seven coins were found, of which six are Roman Republic denarii from the 1st century B.C. and one is a denarius from the time of Emperor Vespasian. On the acropolis, a bronze coin from the time of Hadrian was also found. The stones of the walls inside were scorched, like the ground beside the walls. The traces of a strong fire were seen everywhere. On the basis of the coins found, it can be established that the city was set afire on the occasion of the wars waged by Trajan against Decebalus.

The results of the latest archeological research performed in the local military camps in southeast Transylvania, but especially in those in Covasna County, at Comolau, Olteni, Bretcu and, recently, Borosneul Mare, confirm indisputably that this part of Transylvania too was conquered by the Romans through the wars waged by Trajan against Decebalus.

Some relics of material culture discovered both in the military camps and in settlements of the local population constitute proof of the process of Romanization through which the local population went in the 2d-3d centuries. Fragments of handmade vases, which represent types of vases typical of the Dacian population, have been found at Comolau, Olteni, Bretcu and Borosneul Mare. The cremation tomb in the burned grave, discovered in the Sintana de Mures culture, also constitutes proof of the Dacian element's presence in this culture. The circulation of Roman coins, even after the abandonment of Dacia by the Romans, represents, as the discoveries at Olteni, Sfintu Gheorghe, Cernat

and so on prove, another argument that the local population, Romanized during the 2d-4th centuries, continued its existence in this part of Transylvania.

After the withdrawal of the Roman army and state apparatus from Dacia, at the end of the 3d century, the period of disintegration of the slaveholding order and of long preparation for a new order followed. During this period, with a social and political content different from that of the disintegrating slavery, a number of transformations occurred in the structure of the autochthonous population, there being crystallized the economic, social and political bases of feudalism.

At that time, on the land of Transylvania, in addition to the Daco-Roman population, there lived Germano-Sarmatian tribes--Goths and Alans (4th century) and Gepids (5th-6th centuries). For a while, Transylvania was under the domination, more nominal, of the Huns (5th century) and the Avars (6th-7th centuries). The evidence of the archeological discoveries brings out the fact that the Germanic population lived in a peaceful symbiosis with the autochthonous population, each borrowing elements of material culture from the other, which is observed more in the pottery. This relatively peaceful life was ended by the invasion of the Huns, which did not touch, at bottom, the autochthonous element. This is confirmed by the discoveries at Bratei, which turned up relics of material culture of the autochthonous population of that time. A settlement of this population has also been discovered in Cernatul de Sus. Its culture was formed on a local foundation, reflecting the late Roman traditions also passed to the Sintana de Mures culture. From the blending of the two elements of culture--Dacian and Roman--there resulted a material culture specific to the population of that period, which, on the arrival of the Slavs and the Avars, in the 6th-7th centuries, was already formed.

In Transylvania, after the collapse of the Hunnish empire, in the middle of the 5th century, Gepid domination followed, leaving traces in settlements and cemeteries. At Sfintu Gheorghe, a tomb that belonged to this population has been discovered on the terrace of the Olt. Gepid domination was ended by the invasion of the Avars, who imposed their authority over the territory dominated by the Gepids, therefore over the territory in southeast Transylvania.

The Slavs were also among the peoples who penetrated into the territory of Transylvania after the collapse of Gepid domination. The diggings done in recent years in Olt and Tirnava Mare Valleys have turned up several settlements that allow us to establish the penetration of the Slavs into Transylvania in the second half of the 6th century. Their existence is confirmed together with that of the Romanic elements; there has not been identified thus far any settlement or any dwelling in which the elements of material culture have a solely Slavic character. The proportion of the two elements is not always the same, but varies, in the sense that sometimes the Romanic elements predominate and sometimes the Slavic elements. Vases of Geto-Dacian origin--slender vases, without handles, decorated with grooves and hollows--known from the Bratei-Ipotesti-Cindesti culture, have been found. In addition, the forms of dwellings discovered are known from the Daco-Romanic world and are not specific to either the Germanic population or the Slavic population.

The above-mentioned archeological discoveries, and others, bring new and clear proof regarding the fact that in southeast Transylvania too the Daco-Romanic element persisted even after the abandonment of Dacia by the Romans. The autochthonous population preserved its old Daco-Roman traditions, which were not altered by the culture of the newcome peoples. These discoveries have made a significant contribution to the knowledge of the different stages of formation of the Romanian people, of the influences of their culture on the peoples with whom they lived together in this area.

#### Traditions of the Common Struggle for Social and National Freedom

Albert Kozak, principal museographer at the Covasna County Museum: The sons of the Transylvanian area have made an outstanding contribution to the common struggle of all the working people, regardless of nationality, against exploitation and oppression, for social and national freedom, for unity, independence and progress. Thus, at Nicopole, a Transylvanian army, which also contained Szekler warriors, participated alongside the army of Mircea the Old. In the big battle in Vaslui, a Szekler army of 5,000 warriors also participated alongside the army of Stephen the Great, and in the battle in Cosmin Woods, against the Poles, over 12,000 Transylvanian soldiers, many of them sons of the Covasna area, came to the aid of the great ruler.

In the battles fought to preserve our national being, the military collaboration established between Michael the Brave and the Szeklers represents a glorious page. In 1595, Michael's army was joined by over 20,000 Szeklers, who participated in the liberation of the cities of Tirgoviste, Bucharest, Giurgiu and Braila and in the driving of the Ottoman army across the Danube. For their devotion, on 18 November 1599, Michael the Brave released the Szeklers and their descendants from serfdom.

Over the centuries, the peasantry has constituted the main patriotic, progressive, revolutionary social force of our society. As has already been noted here, the great people's uprisings in 1514, led by Gheorghe Doja, and in 1784, led by Horea, Closca and Crisan, showed very strikingly the immense force of the peasantry.

Formed under similar conditions, going on in the same period, proclaiming common goals, the revolution of 1848 had a unitary character in all the Romanian countries. Along with Bucharest, Islaz, Blaj and Jasi, the localities of Sfintu Gheorghe and Tirgu Secuiesc became revolutionary nuclei, with the troops of the great empires encountering the determined opposition of the masses of people in the battles at Araci, Chichis or Sfintu Gheorghe. The brotherly collaboration manifested on the occasion of the revolution of 1848 also follows strikingly from Avram Iancu's letter addressed to Col Simonffy Jezsef, in which it says, among other things: "The Hungarian cannot speak without the Romanian, nor the Romanian without the Hungarian, because nature has put us in the one homeland, so that together we may taste the sweetness of its fruits." Pointing out this brotherhood in arms, our party's secretary general stated that the actions of fighting performed frequently in close unity by Romanians, Hungarians and Germans during 1848, in the cities and

villages in Transylvania, wrote memorable pages in the book of the rich traditions of the brotherhood of all the working people, regardless of nationality.

The people's immense revolutionary potential, their receptivity to the basic ideas of social progress, and the strong affirmation of national consciousness found a living embodiment in the union of Moldavia with Walachia and the creation of Romania. The local population's solidarity with the whole Romanian populace was also manifested strongly in the struggle to gain state independence, consecrated during the war of 1877-1878. Thus, the inhabitants of Bretcu, Poiana Sarata, Ilieni, Estelnic, Bicfalau and Tirgu Secuiesc crossed the mountains, either with a passport or by paths known only to them, to be present on the battlefield, alongside their brothers beyond the Carpathians, in the bloody fight with the Ottoman Empire. In addition, artisans, blacksmiths, wheelwrights and carters from Ozun and Cernat accompanied the Romanian army to Plevna, carrying food, ammunition and arms.

As in other crucial moments in the Romanian people's history, when national solidarity has manifested itself actively, the local population took part in the events in 1916-1918, helping to fulfill our people's ideals of national unity, of freedom and social progress, in the forging of the unitary Romanian national state. After the formation of the Central Romanian National Council, a representative body of the Romanian people in Transylvania, communal national councils were formed in the localities in the county, and along with them and under their guidance, national guards were formed. On 24 November 1918, a grand people's assembly, in which over 2,000 peasants took part, was held in the commune of Vilcele, with the participants in it expressing strongly their will to fulfill the ideal of the union. At the same time, hundreds of peasants, also including many inhabitants of Hungarian nationality, expressed their desire to be present at the great historical act in Alba Iulia.

A legitimate continuer of the advanced traditions of the working-class and socialist movement, of our people, the Romanian Communist Party raised to a higher level and led to victory the struggle of the working class, of the broad masses of people, regardless of nationality, against oppression and exploitation, for justice, freedom and independence, for socialism. In the difficult years of the military-fascist dictatorship, the working people in this area, regardless of nationality, actively supported the progressive, patriotic forces. Communist hero Lazar Mihaly of Sfintu Gheorghe, arrested and tortured in the jails of the political police and then killed in a cowardly manner by Borthy's followers in 1941, constitutes graphic proof in this regard.

The antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation constituted a brilliant crowning of the heroic revolutionary struggle waged by the working people, by the progressive forces of society, led by the Romanian Communist Party, against fascism and the war. The heroic struggles waged, after 23 August 1944, to liberate the city of Sfintu Gheorghe and the neighboring localities were an integral part of the battles fought by the Romanian soldiers to drive out the fascist troops and liberate the country's whole territory. In those times of difficult struggles, our soldiers received substantial aid from the "Blue Battery" of the workers of the Tohanu Vechi

plant and from the citizens of the localities of Dobolii, Bacel, Chichis, Zabratu, Crasna, Vilcele and so on.

The centuries-long outpouring of energy in the common struggle for social justice and national freedom has generated valuable lessons, utilized on a wide scale in our socialist present. The monuments erected in this area are also testimony to the advanced traditions of common struggle carried out by the working people, regardless of nationality, against exploitation and oppression, for unity, independence and progress--monuments that pay homage to crucial events in the homeland's history and to figures of great personalities of the Romanian people, such as the Monument of the Heroes of Covasna, the Monument of the Romanian Soldier in Sfintu Gheorghe, the monument in Baraolt devoted to the revolution of 1848, the statues and busts of Gheorghe Doja, Michael the Brave, Nicolae Balcescu, Gabor Aron, Lazar Mihaly and so on.

In the years of socialist revolution and construction, and especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was chosen to head the party, great revolutionary changes have taken place, with the homeland's face acquiring a new appearance. A component part of our country's general development, Covasna County has followed an ascending line of prosperity, of economic growth, of continual improvement in the standard of material and spiritual living of all the working people, regardless of nationality. The solid brotherhood and friendship among all the working people, regardless of nationality, and the unity of our whole populace, cemented and consolidated during the centuries-long common struggle and work, are inexpressibly dear to all of us. We must guard this achievement of socialism like the apple of our eyes and must make it even stronger, even more vigorous.

#### Education, the Basic Factor in Full Equality in Rights

Prof Dr Docent Iosif Tripsa, state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction: The continual concern for raising the whole populace's general level of knowledge and for providing to all the working people, regardless of nationality, wide access to the values of science and culture has constituted and constitutes an essential component of our party's and state's policy of building the most just and most advanced social order in the ancestral abode and, in this framework, solving the national problem in a revolutionary, profoundly democratic and humanist spirit.

Our party starts from the fact that the development of education of all grades constitutes a basic factor for achieving equality in rights for the working people, that only insofar as he acquires the most advanced knowledge in all fields can each citizen indeed feel free and equal to all other citizens of the country, regardless of nationality. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality in December 1984, "Through the constitution and the laws of the country, we have supplied provisions for full equality in education and culture--and there is, in practice, no obstacle for any citizen of the homeland or for any young person to attend any institution of learning. On the contrary--as is well known--our socialist state has also provided free education and has extensively developed the institutions of learning on the

country's territory, precisely in order to also create the material conditions for free access to education for all young people, for all citizens."

Indeed, in the years of socialist construction, especially in the period inaugurated by the ninth party congress, on the initiative and with the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a new--and the most important--chapter has also been written in the field of the Romanian school. Preschool education has become, in organization, scope and content, the first stage of the educational system; mandatory 10-year education, now attended by all children in the country, regardless of nationality, has been generalized; secondary and higher education, especially technical and agronomic education, has been developed strongly; the content and performance of the instructional and educational process have been restructured thoroughly. At present, the school population exceeds 5.5 million children and young people, with every fourth citizen of the country being included in a form of education; the number of school units comes to over 29,300, in more than 3,200 of which the teaching is done in the languages of the nationalities; 1,369 titles of textbooks, including 555 in the languages of the nationalities, are printed for preuniversity education and 1,420 titles of textbooks and manuals are printed for higher education; the studious youth have at their disposal 9,732 school libraries and 43 university libraries.

Our people have made and are making great material efforts to provide these splendid educational conditions. In order for these efforts to be understood better, we point out the fact that in the 1965-1984 period the buildings achieved for education were equivalent, in area and volume, to the construction of seven cities, each having the capacity to hold 100,000 inhabitants. Along with providing the material base, constant concern has been manifested for training the teaching personnel, with the institutions of learning having this year over 240,000 teachers, instructors and professors for gymnasiums and secondary schools and teaching personnel for higher education. These are data and facts that indicate, beyond a shadow of a doubt, the continual concern that our society has for educating its young sprouts and the profoundly democratic, truly popular character of the contemporary Romanian school.

At the same time, it is of particular importance that the conditions have been and are being provided for learning in the language of each nationality, starting precisely from the necessity that all children and young people of the homeland have every possibility of raising their level of knowledge. Along with this concern, our party has in mind the necessity that all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality, living in a single homeland, forging socialism and communism in close unity and brotherhood, have conditions created for making use of the liberties and rights contained in the constitution and in our laws, being able to perform their activity in any corner of the country. "If a young person is obliged to stay only in his commune or in his city, say," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "we are limiting from the start his freedom and possibility of development. The true possibility of development is also that he can go to take, for example, physics in Bucharest, can also study in Iasi, and in Cluj-Napoca, and in Timisoara.... The young people must have the possibility of going wherever they feel that they can learn better, that they can harness their aptitudes better. This constitutes

the true equality in rights--and we want and are doing everything to provide such conditions." This is why, while studying in the languages proper to the respective nationalities, all the young people must learn, at the same time, the Romanian language, knowledge of which constitutes an objective necessity for the affirmation of true equality in rights among all citizens of Romania.

In accordance with the requirements for economic and social development, the party leadership has adopted, in recent years, with wisdom and farsightedness, a group of measures meant to increase the school's formative capacity, its contribution to carrying out the instructional and educational process at a qualitatively higher level. Always bearing in mind the orientations given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, with the participation of big staffs of teaching personnel, researchers and specialists from production, has made a number of improvements in the content of the instructional and educational process on all levels of training, with special attention being devoted to the basic scientific, general-information, social and political disciplines, to the technological disciplines and to the formation of practical skills in the trades, in the professions embraced by the pupils and students. In particular, the aim has been to put into application the instruction of the party's secretary general to train the future skilled personnel in a broad range, of a nature to allow them to work in any sector of the branch for which they are trained, to be able to perform different tasks within the same branch.

The revolutionary idea regarding the organic integration of education with scientific research, production and social and political practice is indissolubly connected with the name of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. "Only the close blending of education with research and production," the party's secretary general pointed out, "ensures the formation of highly skilled specialists, capable of performing any task, both in material production and in the sphere of mental activity." This idea passes like a red thread through the entire conception for organizing and carrying out instructional and educational activity, the whole set of regulations that involve the training and improvement of the work force and the functioning of the new structures of education.

The growth of the school's educational role, of its contribution to forming advanced, scientific thought about the world and life, constitutes an essential characteristic of our education. The party's secretary general has repeatedly stressed the fact that the high mission of implanting in the consciousness of the new generations the noble ideals of socialism and communism, the high spirit of responsibility to the supreme interests of society, goes to the school.

In the spirit of this revolutionary view, continual concern has been devoted to accentuating its formative character, its political and ideological function and cultural and educational function, to increasing the educational potential of all disciplines. Together with the children's and youth organizations, the unions of creation and the other educational factors, the school is concerned with the patriotic, revolutionary education of all sons of the country, putting at the foundation of this activity the knowing of the people's past of struggle and the accomplishments of the socialist present, cultivating

within the younger generation, from the most tender age, boundless love for the homeland and the party and unwavering determination to serve, with deep devotion, the cause of socialism, of Romania's sovereignty and independence.

The deep changes produced on all planes of education--an important field of socialist construction--have occurred under the direct guidance and with the continual support of Comrade Acad Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu, a member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the party and a first deputy minister of the government. These changes have caused Romania to now possess modern, developed and diversified education that provides to the studious youth a good scientific level, makes a big contribution to the formation of the personnel needed in all sectors of the national economy and social life, to the performance of scientific research activity, to the general raising of the whole populace's level of cultural and scientific training.

The theses contained in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 13th party congress raise before education the necessity of increasing its social efficiency, in accord with the requirements for developing the different branches of activity, for proceeding to higher quality in the professional, scientific, technical and political training and improvement of all categories of personnel. In this regard, starting from the orientations established by the party leadership, a special accent will be put further on the thorough mastering of the newest and most modern knowledge in all disciplines by all studious youth, on the knowing of everything that causes the growth of national wealth, on the integration of the instructional and educational process with production and research, with social and political activity. Together with the users of the work force, a number of measures are being undertaken with regard to establishing the schooling plans in accordance with the real personnel requirements, improving the list of trades and specialties, directly subordinating the school units that train skilled workers to the economic enterprises, more closely connecting, in time and in content, the technological disciplines with the practical work that the school youth perform, along with organizing the practical activity better, so that each pupil and student participate effectively in production activity.

For fulfilling these tasks, education possesses everything that is necessary: a unitary, modern scientific conception, devised by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a broad system of instruction and education that offers to all pupils and students, regardless of nationality, the optimum framework for training at the highest level, teaching personnel deeply devoted to the party's policy and to the profession of teacher, and enthusiastic young people, eager to learn, determined to make their full contribution to building the new order on the land of Romania.

#### Wide, Unrestricted Access to the Values of Culture and Art

Ladislau Hegedus, state secretary on the Council for Socialist Culture and Education: A historic event in the life of the party and the people, the 13th congress demonstrates once again, with great vigor, the indestructible unity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, around the party and its



eminent leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a fearless revolutionary and fiery patriot, a symbol of our whole nation's ideals of freedom, peace and progress.

From this perspective, the decision of the congress that the ideological program adopted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 and approved by the national party conference is to become an integral part of the Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism is of fundamental importance. Through this decision, the activity put to the use of forming the new man, of spiritually emancipating all the working people, acquires a more and more marked character of permanence, unity and continuity--traits magnified by the necessity of raising this activity to a qualitatively higher level, in full accord with the exigencies of the new stage of development of our socialist society. In other words, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, it is a question of forming and educating a human personality "able and eager to assimilate the highest gains of scientific knowledge and artistic and cultural creation, which is characterized by high political and moral virtues, by enthusiasm for work and creation, by boldness in action, by daring and revolutionary spirit in promoting the new in all fields of social life, by steadfastness in the struggle for justice and truth, by the implementation of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, by the determination to fight with abnegation and bravery to protect the revolutionary gains, the integrity and sovereignty of the homeland, the cause of communism in our homeland."

As has already been stated here, through the improvements made in the educational system, especially through the improvement and diversification of its content, the young people acquire, beginning with school, a rich stock of knowledge from the most important fields of activity. However, the dynamic and complex character of the cultural phenomenon dictates that, both during school and after finishing school, the young people, all the working people, conscious builders of the new order, maintain live and continual contact with the cultural phenomenon, continually enrich their knowledge. Responsible tasks in this regard devolve upon the institutions of culture, the mass and public organizations and the other educational factors.

The results of the steps taken thus far find a vivid expression in the participation of the masses in the "Cintarea Romaniei" [Song of Romania] National Festival. Thus, about 100,000 amateur artistic groups and clubs from cities and villages, from enterprises and establishments, institutions of culture, schools and faculties, from units of the army, with about 2 million members--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--participated in the first edition of the festival, in 1976-1977, but over 200,000 artistic groups with over 4.4 million members took part in the mass phase of the fifth edition of the festival, in 1984.

It is also cogent that, along with the quantitative increases in artistic potential, an increase in quality has also occurred on the plane of the diversification of the mass artistic movement, of the development of the artistic genres with a pronounced patriotic, militant, revolutionary character--which have asserted themselves with a great force of artistic expression and with educational effectiveness on the stages of the festival--as well as on the

plane of the growth of the ideological maturity of the artistic groups, reflected in the orientation of the repertorial policy.

However, the "Cintarea Romaniei" National Festival is not exclusively artistic, there being organized more and more political-educational, cultural and scientific actions and events aimed at the political, patriotic, economic, scientific-materialistic, moral and civic education of the masses. The specific contribution of the nearly 3,000 cultural and scientific universities--which contain 800,000 students in over 23,000 courses, organized over a wide range of concerns, fields and interests--to the whole of the cultural and educational work has increased year by year.

Viewing things from this angle, it becomes clear that art and culture have an active, extremely important, and irreplaceable role in molding the new man. This is, of course, insofar as, through their form and content, they respond suitably to the requirements springing from the makeup of the new man, a conscious forger of his own destiny. As is pointed out in our party's documents, the active and effective educational role of our culture and art is determined by the degree to which the artistic work, taking up and transforming reality in a suitable manner, selectively incorporates relevant aspects of human knowledge, accredits through substance and value high moral, philosophical, ideological and scientific ideas without thereby diminishing its intrinsically aesthetic consistency.

True art, art with the greatest artistic and educational resources, is--as the party's secretary general pointed out from the rostrum of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party--art that is inspired from the people's life and work. By living and writing together with the people, for the people, participating actively in forging our homeland's present and future, the creators of literature and art can produce works of high value, can fulfill their mission in forming the advanced consciousness, in promoting the true revolutionary humanism of our socialist society, in which everything that is achieved is devoted to the flourishing of the homeland, man, his well-being and happiness.

An educational role of the first order goes to culture and art in the formation and accentuation of the patriotic consciousness of the masses. And this is because patriotism is not an innate sentiment, which would manifest and express itself under any conditions, but an element of social consciousness, historically determined by and dependent on the cultural and moral climate in which man grows and is formed. To be a patriot, to love and be proud of your homeland's heroic past and its current achievements, of the values and personalities that have given and give a specific makeup to these people, means to know and to be capable of entering into communion with the whole treasury of thought and feeling of your homeland's spirituality. The mere fact that you were born in a certain ecological context, specific to a country's geography, in the middle of a certain linguistic universe, is not enough for you to also identify yourself emotionally with it. After all, lofty mountains, stately forests, clear and musical waters are also found in other geographical areas. However, love for the specificity of the Romanian area passes through the spirit of Sadoveanu and Eminescu, through the penetrating and inspired eye of Andreescu and Grigorescu, through the sensitive ear of the folksinger, singing

of the "little brother forest," or through the melos of the rhapsodies of Enescu, through the sensitivity and specificity of the creations achieved by the two Bolyais, Benedek Elek, Mattis Teutsch, Erwin Wittstock, whose works enrich the spiritual treasury of our whole populace. Consequently, patriotic education is called upon to put each citizen of the country in the situation of identifying himself with our people's representative works of culture and art, with their humanistic, peaceful, profoundly constructive calling.

Consequently, our patriotic sentiment is also based on the pride of having a history and a culture to which we all belong, regardless of nationality, as to a family that gives us a purpose on earth. Therefore, we must be deeply grateful to the country's chairman, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the fact of having restored to us, with patriotic determination and enthusiasm, this whole horizon of values, in its integrality and significance, of having continually urged us to return to the sources, to find, unaltered and inexhaustible, our people's resources of pride, dignity and creativity.

Being the common retort in which the creative resources of all who live in our homeland, regardless of nationality, are smelted, the national cultural is also a school of brotherly cooperation and collaboration, of mutual respect and knowledge, based on trust and mutual aid. Side by side with the Romanian people, the Hungarian, German and other-nationality working people are forging together the socialist society, the country's new material and spiritual civilization. The works of all the people of culture and art in our country, regardless of nationality, promote friendship and brotherhood, united work for the flourishing of the common homeland. Here, in the age-old arc of the Carpathians, people of different nationalities have found, alongside the Romanian population, favorable material and spiritual conditions for creating a rich culture, with an identity of its own, but one that, regardless of the language in which it has been materialized, expresses the characteristics of the same ancestral homeland, of the same human climate, of the same aspirations, common to all the people who have given, through their work and creation, luster and dignity to this land called Romania.

In this perspective, true culture asserts itself as one of the points of convergence of the age-old wisdom of the peoples, as a territory for affirming all the values not in competition but in complete mutual respect--because the history of world culture gathers, like a huge and majestic ocean, all the rivers and streams of the national spiritualities into a communion that enhances and strengthens the vigor of their creativity.

Here, in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, the eternally living treasures of Romanian thought and spirit have taken root over the years, there being added to the ancient treasury of Romanian artistic creation new values, which have been and have remained the country's and its people's, whether the talent that gave expression to them has been that of a Romanian, a Hungarian, a German or a creator of another nationality.

Does such evidence of our cultural history really have to be repeated? Yes, as long as there are still some who burn to proclaim that the direction of the course of events is from the future to the past, trying again to sow discord

and hatred among peoples and among the working people of different nationalities, in order to set them at odds and raise some against others; yes, as long as there are still clumsy and ignominious attempts to substitute for research on references for history, set in a place of honor in all the libraries of the world, the opusculé devoid of talent, but filled with hatred, of someone incapable of loving the values of wisdom and truth of other peoples and thus, implicitly, incapable of loving his own people.

These are truths dear to us, all of us who proudly bear the name of Romanian citizen. One of them, fundamental for us, is the scientific solution to the national problem in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, a solution to which--after the ninth congress, through Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's careful attention and decisive contribution--new and remarkable traits and features have been added.

Unrestricted access to the act of cultural and artistic creation and the democratization of culture are now basic realities of socialist Romania, sure conditions for a climb to higher and higher levels of civilization and progress. The 388 titles of books published in 1984 in the languages of the nationalities, the 14 theatrical and musical institutions which operate in the Hungarian, German and Yiddish languages and which put on over 4,800 performances last year alone, and the several thousand artistic groups that perform in the Hungarian, German and Serb languages and those of other nationalities are just a few of the facts of broad scope and essential significance that culture adds to the proof of rapid economic growth of all counties and localities of the country, the development of the educational system and so on, all showing, in the light of day, in the eyes of the whole world, the fully equal rights that all citizens of our country possess, regardless of nationality.

This is our categorical response, of true patriotic feeling, to any gloomy and malevolent voice that wants to sow discord and tension, that maligns and falsifies history, opposing absurd and cloudy distortions to the truth, and tries to give us all sorts of advice on how we should live in our home. We reject them in the name of our supreme right to freedom and independence, bearing before us the impassable shield of our great achievements, of which the strongest are the people's solid brotherhood and unity around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to whom we owe today's joy and tomorrow's brilliance.

#### The Education of All the Working People in the Spirit of Revolutionary Patriotism

Ferenc Vasas, chief editor of the newspaper MEGYEI TUKOR: In the short period of the last two decades, socialist Romania has made a true leap in history. This is the result of the implementation, by our whole populace, under the party's leadership, of that solidly structured and coherently articulated set of political theses and concepts that compose the "Ceausescu Doctrine," a vast theoretical structure, formed from the innovative, revolutionary approach to the principles of scientific socialism. There was, indeed, a need for the innovative ninth congress, for the exceptional personality of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in order to study, in the living, creative spirit of revolutionary theory, the Romanian realities, to unleash the national energies with a view

to channeling the patriotic elan of all sons of the country, regardless of nationality, toward the achievement of the most magnificent social construction in history. There was, indeed, a need for that always necessary "critical and revolutionary relating" to the changing reality about which, in his time, Marx spoke, for that permanent opening toward the future, toward the new, that are characteristic of the style of thought and action of our party's secretary general, in order to overcome the obstacles accumulated in the period of dogmatic isolation in the path of devising and implementing a strategy fully suited to the country's realities, of a nature to secure the rapid and multilateral progress of our socialist homeland. "To be a revolutionary, to be a communist," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "means to be a bold explorer of the new, to always look ahead toward what is developing, to think boldly on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the masses, to act to unite their efforts with a view to the revolutionary transformation of society." This spirit found its full realization both in the precise historical circumscription of the stages traveled by the revolutionary process, in the synthesis of the fruitful experience of socialist construction in our country, and in the farsighted and clear definition of Romania's future, in the substantiation of the essential concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society--a remarkable contribution to the enrichment of revolutionary theory.

Viewed in this context, one of the so numerous historical merits of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu appears to us at its real dimensions--that of having reasoned and demonstrated the role of the socialist consciousness as an essential factor in the multilateral progress of society, as a propulsive force for its development. However, socialist patriotism reveals its wealth of meanings only if we view it in this context, as one of the expressions of the revolutionary consciousness. In the years of socialism, this complex social-historical phenomenon has acquired a number of new traits, in which there are found, alike, traditional love for the homeland and boundless devotion to the cause of socialism, to the party and the people. This justifies and, at the same time, necessitates the continual association of patriotism with the revolutionary spirit--an essentially new value that Romanian political axiology puts in a place of honor among those values in which a genuine propulsive force for economic and social progress is recognized.

In this enhancing perspective, revolutionary patriotism and the education of all working people in the spirit of continually strengthening the whole populace's unity and cohesion--a defining trait of the Romanian socialist society--appear as a basic requirement for forming the socialist consciousness, as an all-important objective of all political-educational, cultural and artistic activity. This is because, on the one hand, revolutionary patriotism springs from our socialist realities, is a reflection of them on the plane of consciousness, and, on the other hand, this complex system of beliefs and ideas does not appear spontaneously, by itself, but in the process of education.

It is a truth proved by life that all the working people, Romanian and Hungarian, in Covasna County are animated, together with our whole populace, by strong patriotic beliefs and deep patriotic feelings. These have found and find striking expressions in the abnegation with which they are acting to attain the objectives of economic and social development, in the creative

effervescence and the revolutionary spirit that characterize the activity of implementing the decisions of the historic 13th party congress.

Revolutionary patriotism--a dynamic notion, existing, as an essential form of manifestation of the revolutionary consciousness, in a dialectical relationship with social being--is developed and enriched along with the fulfillment of the more and more complex tasks that the evolution of Romanian society toward new levels of multilaterally developed socialism puts before us. Starting from this reality, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu defined, at the recent joint plenum of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality, a true code of revolutionary patriotism, thus adding a new and brilliant page to his vast theoretical work. "It is necessary," the party's secretary general pointed out, "for us to intensify the educational activity for even stronger development of revolutionary, socialist patriotism, of love for the homeland, for the people, for the cause of socialism, of the freedom and happiness of all the working people, of our people! This constitutes--and must be--a permanent trait of the political-educational activity, of the development of true revolutionary patriotism."

In the spirit of these high commandments, we are called upon to raise to a higher level the efforts to implant in the consciousness of the young people, of all the working people, the truth that one of the great gains of our socialist society is the scientific way in which our party has solved the national problem for good, providing real equality in rights to all citizens, regardless of nationality. Our modern plants and our flourishing cities represent a revolutionary leap in our homeland's development--and precisely they guarantee the exercise of the basic rights. It is our duty to demonstrate, through the most convincing forms of expression, with the arguments of the facts, the chronic dysfunctionalities of the society for which certain scholars of capitalism make an apology and the incontestable superiority of socialism, which provides to all citizens equal and equitable access to the benefits of civilization, the full affirmation of the human personality. We are called upon to firmly combat, from offensive positions, any manifestation of nationalism or chauvinism, to reject any attempt to denigrate our realities, to falsify the common history, any ideological diversion meant to strike at our unity, at our common achievements, to alter the friendship among peoples. Rejecting with total determination any kind of calumnies, regardless of whence they may come, all the sons of the homeland are determined to act, in full unity and brotherhood, to provide a new, free, happy life for themselves.

#### The Historical Role of the Nation and of the National State

Univ. Lect Dr Victor Duculescu, deputy director of the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: The confrontation of the two tendencies that are now manifesting themselves on a world level--the policy of independence, peace and disarmament and the policy of domination, armament and division of the world into zones and spheres of influence--is also reflected, on an ideological plane, in the intensity of the debates regarding basic concepts and notions of political science. In this context, for various motives and from various positions, some political scientists abroad question the current mission of the nation and the sovereign national state and even their

existence. The nation's detractors, ideologists of the most diverse orientations, argue insistently either for the abolition of this form of political organization or for its integration into big, supranational communities. Every "argument" is used in the attempt to dispute the role of the nation and the sovereign national state in the contemporary world.

A first group of theories tries to demonstrate that the national state would represent a factor of "anarchy" and "disorder" in the contemporary world. Paradoxically, international conflicts, so numerous in the postwar era, and the accumulation of an immeasurable number of nuclear arms, of the most diverse types and effects of destruction, are used as a "decisive argument" in support of the idea that the national state, an exponent of the nation, would be, allegedly, "to blame" for the persistence of wars and for the policy of armament and, consequently, should disappear and give way, in the interest of the survival of the human species, to forms of supranational organization.

Another group of theories tries to use as an "argument" in support of the idea of the "obsolescence" of the nations and the national states the existence of strong interdependences that are now making themselves felt more and more. In the view of some authors, the oil crisis, the food crisis and the underdevelopment of the Third World are correlated with the persistence of the nations and the sovereign national states. In this view, the serious phenomena that the world economy is now experiencing represent a result, allegedly, of the manifestation of national sovereignty and not a consequence of the structures and mechanisms of the old international economic order, of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy. The adherents of "world integration" try to accredit the idea that these phenomena and, in general, the current economic problems could be solved by abolishing the system of sovereign national states, by transferring prerogatives of theirs to mechanisms operating above the states, above national sovereignty. In the opinion of some authors, such as, for instance, Jean Francois Revel, the policy of hegemony of the big, strong countries would have "more chances of leading to an internationalization of planetary management than the sum of the policies of independence."

Some political scientists in the West do not formally dispute the nations and the sovereign national states but insist on pointing out that there are big discrepancies in power between them, which causes them to benefit from a very different international influence. In the opinion of French sociologist Marcel Merle, the sovereign national states can be compared to the "actors" who perform on the stage of a theater: "leading actors," who dominate the whole play, "supporting actors," who have an episodic role, and "mere extras," who do not have, in fact, any influence on the course of the action. Such an arbitrary classification is transposed to the plane of international relations, in an attempt to accredit the idea that, at bottom, the great powers would be the ones that should play the essential, decisive role in world international relations; "since it is illusory to think that the states will voluntarily give up their prerogatives in favor of a world authority," the above-mentioned author writes, "we can ask ourselves if the only alternative to the current situation does not reside in the domination of one power or in the codomination of several powers. It would be a vexatious method, but an

efficient one for reestablishing a modicum of order in a society that is proving less and less capable of regulating its own problems."

As can be observed, in the attempt to deny or lessen the significance of the nation and the sovereign national state, "arguments" are invoked that refer to the most diverse fields of international relations. Real phenomena are often exploited, such as, for instance, the tendency toward the deepening of the interdependence of the nations, the perpetuation of the state of underdevelopment, of the current unjust international structures, the existence of numerous conflicts, the objective requirement of putting an end to the arms race, and especially to the nuclear peril, and so on. However, the real significance and the consequences of these complex phenomena are distorted. Thus, the long-outmoded "argument" that the existence of conflicts would be caused by the persistence of the nations and the sovereign national states constitutes, in fact, a reminiscence of bygone eras, when "the right to make war" was considered the first "right" of the states. However, a careful analysis of the international realities demonstrates that the persistence of conflicts is generated not by the existence of the nations, of the system of sovereign national states, but by the perpetuation of the policy of force, of redivision of the world into spheres of influence, of interference in the internal affairs of the peoples, by the continuation of the old practices of disregarding the freedom and legitimate interests of the peoples. On the other hand, the aberrant arms race is by no means the consequence of the fact that the current international structure is based on sovereign national states, but involves, in the first place, considerations of a military, strategic nature, incorrectly understood reasons of prestige, theories that try to accredit the superiority of the "first strike," of the "retaliatory strike," the necessity of the militarization of outer space and so on. The arms race is, at bottom, an expression of the policy of force in international relations. Armament does not represent at all a "mandatory" function of the sovereign national state; on the contrary, the defending of the nation, of national sovereignty and independence, from any aggression, from any outside interference, constitutes such a function. It is necessary, of course, to provide military equilibrium, but this must be done not by increasing arms but by reducing their level.

The new international economic order does not constitute, either, an "argument" for the abolition of the nations and the sovereign states. The process of building such an order presupposes, as a necessary premise, the maintenance of the current national and state structures. What is necessary are the abolition of the old relations of exploitation, domination and inequality, the affirmation of new relations among states, and the reduction and elimination of the huge gaps between the rich countries and the poor countries. In addition, the discrepancies in power cannot constitute arguments for abolishing the nations or for considering their political role only in direct accordance with the economic or military influence of one state or another. Equality in rights constitutes one of the basic principles laid down in the UN Charter and many other international documents. Any attack on the idea of equality in rights does nothing but complicate the resolution of international problems and perpetuate structures based on the "right of force."



Some theoreticians in the West try to accredit the idea that the existence of the nation and the sovereign national state should be questioned from "humanistic" positions. Starting from the existence of international documents that lay down the obligation of the states to respect and implement the rights of man--including the final Helsinki document--they assert that the protection of the individual would imply, at the current historical time, procedures and mechanisms that would lie above the national-state framework. The adherents of these theories try to justify the "right" of intervention by some states in the internal affairs of others, to maintain or restore the old arrangements on the pretext of "defending the rights of man." As is known, the problems of the rights of man have been and still are used by a number of imperialist, irredentist, reactionary circles to dispute the resolution of the national problem in Romania, to denigrate the new socialist realities, our nation's gains--a result of a wise policy, verified by practice, of continually strengthening the unity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of our whole populace, around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Such "humanism" intends to even revise the borders accepted by the international community, to dispute peace treaties concluded and ratified long ago.

The so-called "humanistic" theories pervert the very essence of humanism, which they try to present distortedly, at variance with the interests of national unity and the aspirations of the whole populace. At one time, revanchist nationalism was the favorite hobbyhorse of all the theories that tried to justify the "expansion" of the national state--that is, of those strong countries that sought territorial revisions--but now the adherents of chauvinism and racism, of neofascism, try to hide their intentions by wearing a "humanistic" mask. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated as graphically as can be in the speech made at the Joint Session of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality, "Those who always set the peoples at odds, deported and tortured hundreds and hundreds of thousands, millions of people, for the only reason that they were of another national origin, have become concerned overnight about the rights of man or of the nationalities. Do the concentration camps, the gas chambers and other barbaric ways of destroying man not represent in fact the true face of these 'defenders' of the rights of man and the nationalities?! Can those who sent these people to death, who were, directly or indirectly, a party to these things, really now pose and present themselves as defenders of the rights of man?!"

There are also theories that--starting from the fact that, after the achievement of the socialist revolution, a natural phenomenon of closeness occurs among the peoples that have chosen the path of the new order--hold that the old, traditional principles of the relations among nations would have "lost" their significance for the relations among the socialist states. An attempt is made to show, in this context, that the principle of sovereignty would operate, in fact, only in the relations among countries with different social orders. In connection with the future of the nations, one even finds judgments in the sense that, in a historical perspective, the nations would cease to still function, "merging into nonnational mankind," a process that should begin, first, with the "related" nations and the "small" nations. A careful analysis of the realities shows strikingly that such theses do not correspond at all to the objective tendency of forging a new type of international

relations among the socialist countries. The experience of the relations among these countries proves definitely, with sufficient grounds, the persistence of national interests, the viability of the national-state framework. Life and practice have proved, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the socialist revolutions have led to the unprecedented affirmation of the role of the national-state framework and not to its decline. In a lawlike manner, socialism promotes a new type of relations, based on respect for the sovereignty and equality of the nations. As our party's secretary general stated, the development of the nation and the strengthening of the socialist state correspond to the objective requirements of social life; this not only does not conflict with socialism's interests but also, on the contrary, corresponds fully to these interests, to the international solidarity of the working people, to the cause of socialism and peace. "The development and flourishing of each socialist nation, of each socialist state equal in rights, sovereign and independent, constitute an essential requirement on which the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the growth of their influence on mankind's progress toward socialism and communism depend."

The problems of the nationalities also offer an important field of the contemporary confrontations of ideas. In this regard, one notes conceptions of the most varied kind, going from the idea of the necessity of the forced "assimilation" of the nationalities, a thesis that disputes, in fact, their independent ethnic existence, to the federalist conceptions, which try to demonstrate that all modern states would be "multinational" states, which would imply forms of political organization of a federal type.

The Romanian Communist Party, under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has provided the complete resolution of the national problem in our country. In this framework, the problem of the nationalities has also been solved brilliantly, with real equality being provided among all the working people, regardless of nationality. As has been stated during the proceedings of our symposium, economic and political measures of maximum importance, which have led to the raising of the level of progress and civilization in all areas of the country, have been devised and applied to life. At the same time, there have been found specific organizational forms--the councils of working people of Hungarian, German and other nationalities--which play an important role in the country's political life, participating directly, along with other public bodies and organizations, an expression of our working-class, revolutionary democracy, in the great front of socialist democracy and unity.

The specific character of the solution to the national problem in our country confirms the value of the Romanian approach, fully validated by practice. The experience of solving the national problem in Romania has borne and bears in mind the need to adopt decisions on the rights and liberties of the nationalities that express the Romanian socialist state's political and legal sovereignty, its vocation of exercising full legal jurisdiction over all citizens of the country. As the party's secretary general has said repeatedly, in Romania, in the course of history, citizens of other nationalities also settled, with whom the Romanians lived peacefully, there being forged a full unity of struggle and action for social and national liberation. Under these conditions, the correct understanding of the system of relations that have been set

up between the Romanian citizens and the Romanian citizens of other nationalities requires that the great attachment of all the working people, regardless of nationality, to their common homeland--socialist Romania--be brought to the forefront. More than once, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out the fact that the place of all citizens of our homeland is here, in Romania, in the whole populace's joint effort to forge a truly free and happy life, in which each citizen enjoys fully the gains of the socialist civilization.

The role of the nation and the sovereign national state and the importance of continually strengthening the unity of all the working people, of the whole populace, are brought out with great vigor in the documents of our party and in the remarkable theoretical work of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The documents of the 13th party congress demonstrate, once again, the special significance that Romanian political thought attaches to the nation and the state, as propulsive forces of the first order for the progress of the socialist society.

Our party's theoretical theses and orientations converge to show that the nation and the sovereign national state, undeniable historical realities, are called upon to play at present and in the future a more and more important historical role, helping to substantiate the solid unity of all citizens of the country, to fulfill the whole populace's aspirations for better, to make the homeland prosper, to implement our party's and state's wise policy of cooperation with all nations and states of the world, in accordance with the imperatives of the era in which we are living.

#### The Superiority of Socialist Humanism

Univ Prof Dr Docent Alexandru Tanase: The topic of the present symposium has been broadly and multilaterally tackled from a sociological, political-scientific and historical viewpoint. It was natural for all these complementary angles and methods to be supplemented with a topic of philosophical synthesis like that of socialist, revolutionary humanism, which involves a permanent feature, an essential attribute of contemporary Romanian social thought and practice, of our party's ideology and policy.

Humanism as a anthropocentric spiritual attitude combines existential values and values of consciousness alike. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed the historicity of humanism and the superiority of socialist humanism. Humanism has constituted a kind of milky way of the history of culture, a true vein of gold in man's formation as a cultural being, as man the fighter, man the worker, man the creator, but the old cultural and political revolutions did not also lead to a revolutionizing of the human condition. The old humanisms were almost exclusively cultural humanisms--in other words, they referred only to the sphere of spiritual culture. However, if it was considered necessary to include the topic of humanism in a symposium about the complete resolution of the national problem in our country, the new meanings of revolutionary humanism, which is not limited to the sphere of culture, were taken into account, of course; it is clear that only a higher civilization, humanistic by the very nature of its material and spiritual structures, can provide the solution to such a problem--one of the most complex and difficult legacies of the past.

Socialist humanism is, first of all, a humanism of the basic, economic structures. Such humanism is inconceivable under the conditions of capitalism, in which injustice, inequality, inequity, serious infringement of human dignity, alienation and dehumanization result from the very essence of the economic structures of exploitation and oppression. Under socialism, the human component of the production forces is the new worker--a direct producer, but also an owner of the means of production, a direct participant in the proper organization and management of production as well as of social and political life, a beneficiary of all national wealth. Economic humanism thus implies a new capacity of the working person, a new man-technology relationship, a new, humanistic strategy of development. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "...a spiritual civilization has not existed and will not exist in the world without having as a basis strong, independent economic development and complete national freedom."

As is seen, the national dimension cannot be absent from the equation of humanism, and the humanistic criteria of thought and action cannot be absent from the historical problems of the nation and nationalities. Let us look at just one aspect: socialist ownership of the means of production and rational distribution of the production forces over the country's whole territory (aiming especially at multilateral development and optimum utilization of local natural and human resources in areas and counties once in a state of economic backwardness) create equal conditions for all citizens of the homeland, regardless of age, sex, nationality and so on, serving as the economic basis of the working people's social equality, of the friendship and brotherhood of all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality. Life itself and practical experience have refuted the view that industrialization would lead to the "disappearance" of national specific character. Our party and state have had and have in mind economic growth in accord with our socialist society's scientific and humanistic exigencies--the harmonious development of all economic branches, all areas, counties and localities of the country, a dynamic equilibrium between production and consumption, the forging of a higher economic consciousness, the human personality's multilateral development and so on.

Socialist humanism is also a humanism of labor; labor's new axiological dignity is based on the harmonization of labor's anthropological status with its sociological status. From an anthropological viewpoint, labor (physical and mental) has always been the sole source of the assets of material civilization, of the "marvels" of culture, a paradigmatic model for forging a world filled with sense and even--within certain limits--an occasion for joy and satisfaction, but, from a social viewpoint, under the conditions of exploitation, it has become a source of (and a factor in) alienation and dehumanization. Through the abolition of exploitation, under the conditions of our socialist society, labor has regained all of its creative values, as a source of wealth, but also as a constructive personality factor, both on an individual level and on a national level.

At the same time, revolutionary humanism also manifests its superiority as a social and political humanism, involving a new relationship between the benefits, well-being and happiness of the individual and of the community, a new relationship between the interests of the individual and those of the

community. The new humanism is not an elitist humanism but one of the whole society, of the whole system of civilization. It presupposes a dual process: the socialization of the human individual, his integration into the social structures, and the individualization or personalization of society, as an antidote to uniformization and standardization.

Humanism's political meaning refers to the system of rights and liberties, providing, from a material viewpoint, the perfected mechanisms of representative and participatory democracy, open to all working people, regardless of nationality. It is thus a humanism in action and a humanism of action, correlated in a natural way with real freedom, and not just legally decreed freedom, and with the criteria of social equity, expressed in the system of working-class self-management and economic and financial self-administration, a humanism of the unity between thought and deed, between intention and action, between ends and means. Not by chance, in the report to the 13th party congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "The improvement of the activity of the state of working-class, revolutionary democracy, the development of the system of democratic bodies of the working people in different sectors, will lead to the continual growth of the active participation of the masses of people in the management of the state, of all economic and social life, to the wider and wider democratization of our society.... The superiority of our society is reflected strongly in the affirmation of the principles of the new, revolutionary humanism, in the actual providing of the basic rights of man."

Socialist humanism is also, of course, a humanism of culture, achieving the most significant continuity of everything that was noble and uplifting in the old humanisms. However, discontinuity is also present here, since the traditional humanisms were also marked by limits and uncertainties in the sphere of culture; it is a question particularly of elitist conceptions and practices, of the lack of access or the limited access of the broad masses to the values of culture, of breaches, crises and conflicts of values, and so on. Only under socialism, due to the essential humanism of the whole system of civilization, is the potential humanism of culture realized to the full through the wide democratization of the cultural processes.

Our country's experience shows, we believe, two stages in the affirmation of the humanism of culture. In the first stage, that of revolution, at the forefront there were the democratization of the means of cultural diffusion and the institutionalization of the cultural processes, thus--it could be said--extensive development, meant to facilitate the access of the broad masses of people to culture. In the second stage, through which we are now going, the democratization of cultural creation through the discovery of newer and newer sources of creation, through intensive development, meant to unleash more and more profusely, more and more fruitfully the creative energies of the whole populace, of each particular citizen, takes on greater and greater weight.

The problem of the national language acquires great significance in this regard; and this is, I might say, in a threefold sense: each citizen's real right and possibility of expressing himself in his mother tongue, as a method of forming and expressing his national specific character, stimulated and enhanced as it never was in the past; the real right and possibility of

knowing one (at least) or two internationally used languages, which provides active contact with and knowledge of other cultures, wide participation in the circuit of values and in the dialogue of ideas; the knowing of the Romanian language by all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality--above all, as an objective necessity--since only in this way can they acquire the real possibility of learning and working anywhere in the country, by not being restricted and limited to a certain linguistic medium.

Socialist humanism is also an ethical and axiological humanism, centered on the focusing value of the ethical, which takes on greater and greater weight. In this regard, the humanism of culture and of the whole system of civilization involves, equally, the humanization of the objective material world, but also, all the more, of the subjective faculties, the spiritual, inner world. This is precisely why a social pedagogy of models, of the symbolic personages inspiring bold deeds, is necessary; the socialist society harmonizes, in its human makeup, values of a Promethean type--man's capacity to transform nature, to conquer the outer world--and values of an Orphic type--man's capacity to improve himself, to enrich his inner life, to assume a creative destiny. This also means a dynamic equilibrium between scientific knowledge and conscience, between the scientific and technical ethos and the affective ethos, a new consciousness of nature, a new self-knowledge and self-awareness.

Such a model of development and such a type of civilization will, of course, lead to a true revolution of the human condition--this being conceived as a dynamic whole of social relations, thus including relations of a national type. The fact that the national problem has been solved in our country opens up a fruitful way of unhindered improvement in man's spiritual powers both as an individuality and as a national community forging culture and civilization.

#### The Force of the Advanced Consciousness

Ilie Gabra, secretary of the Covasna County RCP Committee: The subjects of our symposium constitute one of the most relevant expressions of the fact that the people of this area, Romanian and Hungarian, have valued and value particularly one of the basic revolutionary gains of our society: the unity and brotherhood of all who work in the struggle for the progress and flourishing of the common homeland--the Socialist Republic of Romania. We have the duty to explain at length the brilliant way in which our party and state have acted and are acting, especially after the ninth congress, to provide full equality in rights among all the working people; regardless of nationality, to consolidate the unity of the whole populace. The continual strengthening of this unity represents the guarantee of the successful implementation of the party's program and the splendid objectives contained in the documents of the 13th congress, the raising of the homeland to new heights of progress and civilization, the communist future of Romania.

In this regard, the ideological program adopted by the 13th congress, as an integral part of the party's program, and the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the great forum of the communists open up new and wide prospects of raising to a higher level the political and ideological activity of forming and developing the socialist, revolutionary consciousness. The

dialectical correlation between economic and social development and political and ideological work, between the nation's progress and the raising of the working people's level of political and professional training, is formulated with great force and clarity in these important programmatic documents. The ideological program shows the consistency with which our party and its secretary general are acting to forge the new man, with an advanced consciousness, a devoted builder of socialism and communism. The merit of having rethought and redefined, in the living, creative spirit of scientific socialism, the dialectical relationship between social being and social consciousness goes to our party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Rejecting, with good reason, the fatalistic tendency to fetishize social being's decisive role, the party's secretary general has demonstrated, with farsightedness and boldness, the necessity of continually developing social consciousness, of turning it into a true propulsive force for Romanian society's progress. At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has brought out the objective requirement of forming a unitary and clear conception of the contemporary economic and social processes.

All these things raise before our political and ideological activity greater tasks and exigencies. We have in mind, among other things, the imperative of acting to further increase the working people's capacity to understand and interpret scientifically the processes and phenomena specific to the current stage of development of our society, the trends that appear on a world level, in the evolution of international life, of the contemporary world on the whole. We are called upon to act in such a way that dialectical and historical materialism, scientific socialism, becomes to a greater degree an instrument for knowledge and action put at the disposal of the whole populace.

The education of the party members, of all the working people, in the spirit of understanding and knowing deeply the economic, political or other processes and the requirements of the objective laws is of particular significance under the conditions of socialism, whose construction is the result of the conscious action of the masses, forging their own history. Only in this way it is possible to secure the civic maturation of the masses, the raising of their political and ideological level, the growth of the capacity to give the proper response to any attempts to present in a distorted way the realities in our country, to denigrate the achievements of our socialist order.

One of the problems of cardinal importance, stressed vigorously in the party's ideological program, refers to the importance of knowing our people's multi-millennial history. As has been stated here, in the years after the ninth congress, in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's vast theoretical work, history has rediscovered its real purpose and meanings, it being set on the foundation of the truth. This is why one of the most significant duties of those of us who perform our activity in the political-educational field is that of contributing more and more actively to the knowing of the Romanian people's historical past by all the working people, to the formation and development, in this way, of strong feelings of attachment to the ancestral land, to the socialist homeland, to the party. National pride and socialist, revolutionary patriotism are not opposed to other nations or nationalities. On the contrary, in the view of our party and its secretary general, they are closely linked with developing the spirit of friendship with other peoples, the spirit of brotherly

cooperation and cohabitation among all the working people, regardless of nationality. Socialist patriotism represents a factor for strengthening our socialist nation's unity. In this regard, the better and better harnessing of the educational potential of the age-old traditions of common struggle of the Romanians and Hungarians in this area against exploitation and oppression, for freedom and justice, for a new, dignified life, is of great importance.

Labor--the source of our socialist society's entire material and spiritual progress, of the full affirmation of the human personality--represents a prominent, basic value of our socialist society. Starting from the consideration that the people and their attitudes must be judged, first of all, according to deeds, labor for society's benefit must be considered the highest expression of the new, advanced consciousness, the most graphic manifestation of socialist, revolutionary patriotism.

In the light of the requirements of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution, of the imperative of growth in economic efficiency, in the technical and qualitative level of products, of growth in their degree of competitiveness, the task of further improving the methods by which the political-educational work, in its entirety, helps to attain these major objectives devolves upon us. In this regard, we must devote special attention, in the future too, to continually raising the level of knowledge and culture of the working people in this area, to stimulating their creative potential, especially that of the young people, starting right at the desks in school.

By its very essence, the activity of forming the new man, endowed with a high level of socialist consciousness, is a militant, revolutionary activity. Undoubtedly, the complex process of developing the socialist consciousness, of forging the new man, is determined largely by the changes that occur in the structure of society, in the development of the production forces, in the improvement of production and social relations. But a process of such scope and amplitude cannot be, of course, an automatic consequence of economic and social structural changes; it is necessary, at the same time--as our party and its secretary general continually point out--for us to take into consideration the objective requirement of performing intense, active and multilateral political and ideological work and instructional and educational work of developing the revolutionary spirit, of combating the backward views of work and life, the influences alien to our scientific conception.

We are fully aware that only through the formation and continual education of a man of a new type, a devoted and competent builder of the most just society in history, will we be able to help to continually strengthen the unity of our whole nation around the party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--a supreme political value of our socialist society, a propulsive force of the first order for advancing to the peaks of communism that we glimpse in the glorious documents of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

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ROMANIA

ROLE OF SOCIALIST STATE IN REVOLUTIONARY, WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 25 Dec 84 pp 16-19

[Article by Dr Vasile Nichita: "The Socialist State in the System of Revolutionary Workers' Democracy"]

[Text] "Attainment of the objectives of the forthcoming five-year plan and of the long-term development of Romania to the year 2000 sets as objective necessities even greater increase in the role of the state in planning, organization, and unified management of all economic and social activities, on the basis of the single national plan" (Nicolae Ceausescu, from the report presented at the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party).

The conclusions and theoretical theses elaborated by the secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the masterful report presented at the 13th Congress, define basic trends on the basis of a comprehensive, remarkably original vision, highly receptive to the future, of improvement in the activities of the state and its organs and of the entire system of management of society in accordance with the requirements of transition to the third stage of implementation of the party program, long-term development of Romania to the year 2000.

Taking as a basis large-scale application of the experience gained in revolutionary transformation of Romanian society, as well as thorough analysis of the current stage of socialist construction in Romania, the report, perspicaciously, boldly, and with an ability to anticipate the revolutionary thought and action of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stresses both the main teachings gained from past experience and the trends, objectives, and measures which will be necessary in the future in order to raise to a higher level the role of the state and our revolutionary workers' democracy, as well as assurance of increasingly active and effective participation by the workers in management of the socioeconomic life of all of society.

The documents of the 13th Congress broadly characterize the role and functions of our socialist state, in the current stage and over the long term, in unified planning, organization, and management of economic and social activities, on the basis of the single national plan; the objective law-governed requirement of continuing improvement in the unified system of revolutionary socialist democracy as Romania progresses in its course of

of socialism and communism; ways and means of bringing about the most harmonious possible coordination of the work of state organs with that of the new democratic organisms in all activities connected with management of society; and the most efficient possible application, in all spheres of economic and social life, of the principles of scientific management and democratic centralism. "Let us do everything," stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the congress, "to make certain that the activities of state organs and those of the new democratic organisms will lead permanently to broadening of revolutionary worker democracy, to strengthening of the workers' democratic state, to the broadest possible development of participation by the masses in management of all society, and to strengthening of the independence and sovereignty of socialist Romania"<sup>1</sup>.

The particular attention which the documents of the recent party congress pay to continuing improvement in the role and functions of the state and the entire system of democratic management of society, in the process of Romania's transition to a new stage in its path of socialism and communism, is of profound theoretical and practical political significance. The problem of political power has always represented the fundamental problem of any social revolution and of any social and state system. In the protracted controversies conducted around this problem, the founders of scientific socialism constantly opposed attempts to regard the state as an entity in and of itself, outside the concrete historical context, and made an acute, fundamental criticism of the essentially anarchistic attitudes which generally opposed the state, politics, and any authority in social life. They rejected the illusions about the so-called free state as being unfounded. True liberty, observed Karl Marx, consists in "transformation of the state from an organ situated above society into one entirely subordinate to it"<sup>2</sup>, and V. I. Lenin in turn wrote that "we are not utopians. We do not 'dream' of one day being free of any leadership, any subordination. Subordination to the proletariat must exist"<sup>3</sup>.

The essential truth of revolutionary theory regarding the role and functions of the state power of the workers in creating the new life has been vigorously embodied in the process of profound qualitative change--political, economic, social, and intellectual--brought about in Romania under the leadership of the Communist Party in the 4 decades which have passed since the victory of the revolution of social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist, liberation of August 1944. The crucial factor in these transformations was represented by transformation of the people into the complete and unrestricted holder of political and economic power and utilization of the new instruments of power in the vast work of building socialism and preparation of the preconditions for advancement toward communism. The experience of history attests to the gigantic creative resources set in motion by the new system among the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the entire people.

Especially after the 9th Congress, when, under the impetus and owing to the decisive contribution by the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the burden of preconceived ideas and rigid, simplistic

theses which often suffocated the vital processes of social reality was decisively rejected, the party took firm action to renovate and enrich the revolutionary theory and practice relating to the dialectical relationship between socialism and democracy, the numerous essential meanings of participation by the working class, peasantry, and other categories of workers in management of economic and social life, examination of the functions and role of the socialist state in close connection with the requirements of manysided, dynamic, and harmonious progress of the new system, and the demands of continuity of the process of revolutionary transformations and the strategic stages of this process. A critical analysis has been made of the views advocating elimination or reduction of the role of the state immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution, prior to disappearance of the domestic and international factors making it objectively necessary to develop and improve the activities of the state. Similarly, the party has taken a stand on the theses to the effect that the socialist state is an eternal, unchanged entity. In close conformity with the requirements for increasing consolidation of our socialist system, the increase in the leading role of the working class in society and in cementing the indestructible relationships of alliance and unity among the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, and strengthening the cohesion of the entire nation, there has been established and constantly enriched a unified and scientifically substantiated revolutionary concept of the state and democratic management of society suitable for the actual situation in Romania and efficient engagement of the people in the great work of fashioning a comprehensively developed socialist society and of advancing Romania toward communism. Our party's concept simultaneously concerns the role and functions assigned to the state in defense and strengthening of national independence and sovereignty, in the vast activity in which Romania is engaged at the international level.

Taking into account the scope and complexity of the objectives and targets adopted for the 1986-1990 five-year plan and of the trends over the period to the year 2000, the 13th Congress stressed the need for raising all activities connected with planning and management of economic and social life to a new and higher level, for even greater increase in the role of the state in planning, organization, and unified management of society on the basis of the single national plan. "We can state without fear of error," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the congress, "that there can be no question whatever of decrease in the role of the state in unified management of society. On the contrary, the vigorous development of productive forces and the unprecedented extension of socioeconomic activities make it objectively necessary to improve and increase the role of the state to assure unified and well-coordinated development of society"<sup>4</sup>.

Fully approving the activities conducted between the 2 congresses and the analyses and evaluations included in the report presented by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and the Congress authorized the Central Committee to act with the utmost resolve to raise all activities connected with planning and management of economic and social life to a new and higher level.

Particular importance is assumed in this context by management on the basis of a single national plan--broadening of the role and functions of the ministries, central agencies, and workers' councils on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism--which harmoniously combines the broad initiative of the masses, of the collective management organs of units, with the principle of unified management of all sectors. The broad rights available to the general meetings of workers in adopting resolutions on all problems connected with plans and socioeconomic activities must naturally be combined, in the spirit of the guidelines laid down by the congress, with rigorous compliance with the unified national plan of socioeconomic development. Through firm application of the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, the interests of each unit and of each staff of workers are to be closely coordinated with the general interests of our socialist society and the entire people. As is pointed out in the report presented at the congress, the initiative of each unit should be given expression in exemplary performance of plan assignments, in elevation of the technical level and quality of production, and in continuing improvement in economic activities.

This realistic view is based on joint worker, state, and cooperative ownership of the means of production, on the fact that socialist ownership represents the decisive factor in planned development of the national economy, unified management, and concentration of material and human resources in the direction of attainment of the objectives of the highest importance for the all-round and harmonious progress of socialist Romania. The unified national plan, which covers all spheres of economic and social life, makes it the responsibility of all society to develop both material production and science, education, and culture, and to continue to increase the national income, the basis of the welfare of the entire people. The unity and dialectical interaction of all the components of the national plan of socioeconomic development express the fundamental political decision of the party and state to work to create a comprehensively developed socialist society in agreement with the will of the entire nation. Proceeding from these considerations, the documents of the 13th Congress place special emphasis on the objective necessity for even greater future increase in the role of the state in planning, organization, and unified management of all economic and social activities, on the basis of the unified national plan, to ensure uniform and harmonious development of Romanian socialist society.

As supreme representative of owners and producers, as organizer of the community life of the entire people, our socialist state, a state of revolutionary worker democracy, and wielder of supreme power in our socialist society, is called upon to bring about complete harmony between productive forces and social and production relationships, on the basis of unified, planned management of all society, to ensure that the entire life of society will be based on laws and standards complied with by all economic, social, and state organizations and by all citizens, and to guarantee defense of the achievements of the revolution and the independence and sovereignty of the country. While stressing that measures must be taken to eliminate the phenomena and manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism

in the activities of state organs, the congress at the same time determined that broadening the functions of the local organs of state power and administration and of central agencies and enterprises represents an important requirement for improving management and planning activities and increasing the role of the state, an objective process determined by the complexity and scope of future development of our society.

In this context the 13th Congress resolved to continue to act to strengthen socialist democracy, to ensure participation by the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, the entire people, in the activities of social management organizations for the sake of harmonious combination of the activities of socialist state organs with those of the new democratic organisms.

An integral component of the party strategy of creating a comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism, the policy of continuing improvement in socialist democracy reveals its fundamental import and significance in accomplishment of conscious and organized, fully committed and responsible, participation by the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, by all workers, without distinction as to nationality, in the management of social life, or in other words, in government of society by the people itself, free and master of its destiny. Our party proceeds in this regard from the conception that socialism, the system designed to eliminate economic, social, and national inequalities and to ensure assertion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice in all spheres, harmonious coordination of personal interests with the general aspirations of society, and ever fuller assertion of personality, is inconceivable apart from an authentic, revolutionary, workers' democratic life.

In this view, the new system is called upon to be not only a society capable of ensuring its members a dignified, civilized material and intellectual life, capable of more fully meeting their rational needs, but also a society capable of realizing the highest aspirations for liberty and happiness and the broadest possibilities for unimpeded worker participation in solution of the major problems of the development of society. In contrast to bourgeois society, which, being founded on deep economic, political, and social inequalities, on exploitation, oppression, and relentless opposition of class interests, inevitably raises insurmountable obstacles to worker participation in making basic decisions, socialism makes not only possible but objectively necessary the organized, responsible, and conscious engagement of the working class, the leading class of the new system, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the entire people, in creation of the socialist and communist future. "We must not for a moment forget," points out the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "that socialism is the conscious work of the people, that it is built by the people and for the people. Hence we must do everything to ensure direct democratic participation by the people in the management of society"<sup>5</sup>.

An embodiment of the revolutionary political thought and action of the party and its secretary general, an expression of creative application of the general truths of scientific socialism to the specific conditions of Romania, the Romanian system of socialist democracy is distinguished by its

complex, original, coherently articulated character, unique of its kind. Direct democracy, given concrete expression in the entire array of forms and methods of worker self-management activities, in the lively, permanent, and timely dialogue between the party and the masses, in the systematic working visits by the higher leadership of the party to enterprises and institutions, in the periodic sector and area consultations, and in the broad discussion of proposed laws and of fundamental problems of domestic and foreign policy with the masses, is thus harmoniously combined with representative democracy, widely practiced in the establishment, functioning, and exercise of state power at both the central and local levels; combination of public and state elements; unified democratic management of the entire country with the forms of worker self-management in all sectors and at the level of all socioeconomic units; and coordination of the requirements of scientific organization and substantiation of the management of society with those of direct involvement of the broad masses in all stages of elaboration, adoption, application, and control of decisions and of elaboration and implementation of the policy of creating socialism and communism.

The Communist Party, the vital center of our entire society, the authentic advocate of the vital interests and aspirations of all the working people of Romania, represents the fundamental political source of trends connected with the entire development of the country, the force which propels, unites, and welds together all the components of our political and social system. Concerning itself constantly with development and improvement in the structure of organisms and regulations which give shape to our system of socialist democracy, the party at the same time makes certain of the proper functioning of this system, taking a firm stand against phenomena of formalism, bureaucracy, and passivity, and assuring that the revolutionary style of work is promoted consistently in all sectors. It also acts and concerns itself constantly to ensure proper functioning of state organs, the democratic organisms for management of society. Party organs and organizations in all sectors and at all levels of social organization are called upon to take vigorous action to unite the efforts of all working people, constantly making certain of proper functioning of state organs and democratic organisms, strengthening of order and discipline in all sectors, and achievement of the closest possible agreement among individual, collective, and group interests and between the requirements and interests of general development of our socialist society.

A leading position in the system of our socialist democracy is obviously occupied by the state of revolutionary workers' democracy with its central organs, the Grand National Assembly, the supreme organ of state power and the country's only legislative organ; the Council of State, permanently operating supreme organ of state power subordinate to the Grand National Assembly; the President of the Republic, who, in his capacity as chairman of the Council of State and chief of state, represents the power of the state in the domestic and international relations of the country; and the cabinet, supreme organ of state administration, and the people's councils, local organs of state power and territorial administration and self-management.

The fundamental active components of the system of revolutionary workers' democracy, the mass and public organizations, the trade unions, the Union

of Communist Youth, the womens' movement, and other organizations, are in turn organically integrated and engaged in the mechanism for management of society. They are called upon to militate for uniting the efforts of all workers to carry out the party program, to conduct broad socialist and communist educational activities among the masses, and to participate directly in solution of the problems arising in the life and activities of the workers and in the general development of society.

A significant contribution to performance of the functions of the state and continued development of our socialist democracy is made by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the broadest political, patriotic, revolutionary organization, in which the unity of all the citizens of the country around the Romanian Communist Party is asserted, without distinction as to nationality, and the efforts of the entire people are united and coordinated in the process of creating a comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. Along with the Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front brings together mass and public organizations, creative artist unions, cultural and athletic organizations, people's councils belonging to the minority nationalities, and the organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front itself, which is a revolutionary patriotic mass political organization. A suitable framework is thus provided for organized and conscious participation by the broadest masses in the conduct of public affairs and in elaboration and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of Romania.

The most comprehensive form of direct participation by the masses in the management of society is represented by worker self-management, a vital expression, with profound immediate and long-term implications, of the increasing assertion of the role of the working class, of all working people, in the management of society.

In our party's conception, the content and sphere of operation of worker self-management relate to all spheres of activity of the enterprise, all the functions of the latter, especially its aspects of a qualitative nature. As was stressed at the 13th Congress of the party, the workers' councils and general meetings--the management organs of the owners, producers, and customers of enterprises, and institutions--the district councils, and the national councils and congresses of workers in industry, agriculture, education, science, and culture ensure organized participation by the broad masses in management of the economic and financial activities of our entire socialist society. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the congress, "we must resolutely apply the principle of worker self-management and self-administration. In its capacity as producer, owner of part of the national wealth--the property of the entire people, and beneficiary of this wealth, every staff of workers bears full joint responsibility for management and development of the unit in which it works"<sup>6</sup>.

By uniting the enthusiasm and energies of the broad popular masses, ensuring broad discussion of all the problems of socialist construction and effective worker participation in all spheres, the organisms of workers' democracy play an especially important part in accomplishment of the great

tasks assigned by the vast revolutionary work of building socialism and communism.

In basing its entire organization and operation on the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, worker self-management, and economic and financial self-administration, our system of socialist democracy thus embodies both the institutional and the legal framework of effective participation by the entire people in conscious shaping of its own destiny, the principles of organization and conduct of social life, from the basic economic and social units to national organs, and the fundamental values and standards of the new society: the liberty and social responsibility of all citizens, without distinction as to nationality, the social and national equality of citizens, the principles of socialist ethics and justics, and the spirit of worker commitment, order and discipline, and revolutionary socialist humanism.

Our party has derived important theoretical, ideological, and practical conclusions regarding democratic management of economic and social activities from thorough analysis of the experience gained in carrying out the work of establishing the new order in Romania and from careful study of the processes and trends manifesting themselves on a broader, international scale. In this context the concept of leadership by a single person has been rejected and the principle of collective leadership has been consistently promoted in all spheres. Democratic collective leadership organs have been established at all levels, with particular emphasis placed on development of revolutionary worker democracy and on the need for realizing under socialism the highest forms of democracy given concrete expression in a large number of ways and means of direct participation by the masses in the management of society. Worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration have been firmly promoted. Under current Romanian conditions they represent some of the most suitable forms of expression of the role of the working class as a leading force in society.

Constant updating of the theses, evaluations, and social and political concepts in keeping with the objective requirements of economic, political, and social realities as they continually change and develop represents a veritable axiom of all activities to our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. We apply in this regard the essential methodological criterion according to which all the notions, concepts, and theses that we employ are unquestionably the product of historically determined conditions and are fully valid for the respective conditions and in their context. The unprecedented complexity and the breadth of contemporary revolutionary changes, the great diversity of historical, economic, social, and national conditions, of political and cultural traditions, of social psychology, under which different peoples act to erect the edifice of the new, socialist life, and the variety of the stages involved in progress toward communism fully exclude rigid schemes, mechanical transfer of formulas, or a "single model," while on the other hand they greatly heighten the responsibility of the revolutionary forces of each country for constant careful study of the concrete realities, with full knowledge of the facts, and on this basis solution, in the spirit of the general truths and



principles of revolutionary theory, of all the problems raised by building of the new system, including those connected with the state, democracy, and self-management.

The theoretical positions and practical solutions, constantly enriched and elaborated by our party, especially since the 9th Congress, and magnificently developed in the documents of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, give proof of the revolutionary maturity of our party, its sense of high responsibility for the interests of the people and for the cause of socialism and communism and the independence and sovereignty of the country.

Directly forming a viable response to the requirements and problems raised by the new and higher stage of socialist construction in Romania, the theoretical positions and practical solutions elaborated by the 13th Congress of our party, they are at the same time of particular importance in the context of the broad demands, contrasts, and experiences encountered by contemporary man in the problems of sociopolitical organization and management, of increasingly stronger expression of the role of the masses and peoples in the arena of political and social life, and of considerable amplification of the responses of the political element to the major problems raised by the dynamics of society in our days. They represent a contribution of inestimable value to enrichment of the common treasury of revolutionary theory and practice, a concrete, convincing expression of the vitality and inexhaustible resources for progress, creativity, and innovation offered by the socialist system.

An expression of the strength and vitality of our socialist system, democracy, self-management, and self-administration in the view of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, they imply manifestation of a high sense of social responsibility, revolutionary competence and conscience, broad galvanizing of the creative energies of the nation, openness and receptivity toward the new, toward the truth and scientific value on the plane of thought and practice, order and discipline, social commitment, a spirit of initiative, efficiency, and creative activity on the part of all collectives, units, and citizens of the country in the work of building the new socialist and communist civilization.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XIII-lea Congres al Partidului Comunist Roman [Report to the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party], Bucharest, Editura politica, 1984, p 49.
2. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Opere" [Works], Vol 19, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1964, pp 28-29.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Opere complete" [Complete Works], Vol 33, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1964, pp 48-49.

4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XIII-lea Congres al Partidului Comunist Roman, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1984, p 42.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" [Romania on the Course of Construction of a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society], Vol 24, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1983, p 35.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raport la cel de-al XIII-lea Congres al Partidului Comunist Roman," Bucharest, Editura politica, 1984, p. 42.

6115

CSO: 2700/108

ROMANIA

ACCIDENT, LIFE, AUTO INSURANCE PLANS EXPLAINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 25 Dec 84 pp 47-48

[Article by Lavinia Melicean: "The Economic Spirit in Action: Foresight and Care for the Quality of Life Fully up to Date"]

[Text] From beginning to end the directives of the 13th party congress give evidence of the same supreme concern and purpose of our socialist system, the welfare of man, systematic improvement in the quality of life from all viewpoints. These concerns also include cultivation among groups and in the individual of a spirit of constant foresight and care for prevention and prompt elimination of any factors which might have a negative effect on the progress of socioeconomic activities, in the last analysis the level reached and the prospects for improving the quality of life.

A positive role in our society is played in this context by state insurance, which organizes the mutual assistance of economic units and citizens for cases in which losses are caused by unexpected and undesirable events. Monetary contributions by the participants are employed for this purpose to form in advance a common financial fund called an insurance fund out of which money is taken to cover the losses of insured persons who have been stricken by disasters or have suffered accidents. Creation and utilization of the insurance fund contributes, in accordance with legal and contractual provisions, to restoration of damaged or destroyed property and to payment of insured amounts when events affecting the life and health of persons occur. Viewed from the broad social standpoint, the State Insurance Administration, ADAS, uses the funds which it concentrates temporarily and in established reserves to contribute to financing and provision of credit for the national economy.

The basis on which the state insurance system conducts all its activities is represented by the relationships of collaboration and mutual assistance existing in our society. It participates in a specific way and to a certain extent in the process of raising social relationships to a higher level of quality. At the same time, through their contribution to maintenance of the continuity and the steady pace of the production process and the integrity of socialist and personal property, by creating additional contingency and savings funds for the people, insurance activities contribute to the economic and social progress of the country.

The insurance system applied by ADAS has been constantly broadened and consolidated, along with the building and development of our socialist economy, by coverage of new risks and new categories of property and persons under existing insurance and by introduction of new forms of insurance in keeping with the requirements of the economy and the population. We have thus arrived at creation of the current insurance system including multiple forms of insurance, either those required by law or optional ones: property, personal, and civil responsibility insurance, domestic and foreign, all of which make it possible to meet the protection needs of different categories of insured persons.

In what follows we will deal with two forms of ADAS insurance widespread in Romania, ones which present a great number of different advantages to those who avail themselves of them. They are combined life insurance and automotive insurance.

One of the optional forms of insurance which a person can take out is combined life insurance. This form of insurance offers the insured person the possibility of regularly saving a certain amount of money which he will collect on expiration of the insurance period. At the same time, such insurance represents monetary assistance for the persons who obtains its and/or for his family in the event of occurrence of unforeseen and undesirable events.

To conform to the requirements and preferences of the population, combined life insurance is practiced in a number of options, created by extension of protection to a greater number of persons, addition to the insurance amount in the event of occurrence of certain events insured against, etc. The characteristics of the two options are, briefly, as follows.

Family combined life insurance permits insurance coverage of all members of a family aged 5 to 65 years, any of whom may collect the amount of insurance when the event insured against has taken place.

Combined life and supplementary accident insurance represents an option in which the amount of insurance, established for the consequences of accidents, is increased relative to the amount specified for the other events covered under this insurance.

Combined life insurance options have a number of features in common which make them especially advantageous. They are available to persons aged 16 to 65 years; they can be taken out for a period of 5 to 15 years; the insurance premiums are differentiated as a function of the age of the insured person, the term for which the insurance is obtained, and the amount of insurance; on expiration of insurance for which premiums have been paid for the entire period specified in the policy, an indemnification of 10 percent is received together with the amount insured; the insurance participates in the monthly amortization drawings, 1000 lei of the insured amount being granted for each combination of letters issued in the drawing; if the insured person has suffered an accident as a result of which he is permanently disabled (either immediately or within 1 year from the time of the

accident), he receives the total insured amount recorded in the policy in the event of total disability and an amount corresponding to the degree of disability established in the event of partial disability. After these amounts have been received, the insurance continues for the amount recorded in the policy and for the benefits deriving from it, subsequent amounts being awarded independently of those given for permanent disability.

Combined life insurance offers other possibilities as well. For example, the insured person may, while the insurance is in force, change the entries in the policy relating to beneficiary, insured amount, and expiration date, and may opt for another form of insurance, in which case appropriate changes are made in the premium to be paid. Insurance may be reinstated by lump-sum or instalment payment of the unpaid insurance premiums and by extending the lifetime of the insurance whenever payment of premiums has been discontinued for a variety of reasons.

It is desirable, recommended, and of course necessary for premiums to be paid at the specified times to assure uninterrupted enjoyment of the benefits offered by combined life insurance. Persons interested in doing so may obtain other forms of life insurance from ADAS, such as savings and permanent accident disability insurance, fixed term insurance, limited liability period insurance, etc.

It is universally known that the numbers of modern means of transportation of the most varied kinds have reached unprecedented levels throughout the world. The list is headed by the privately owned automobile. The risks to which the person at the steering wheel is exposed have led to the need for efficient means of insurance coverage of the consequences ensuing from such risks when they become realities. One such means, which must naturally always be obtained before the unforeseen happens, is automotive or automobile insurance.

To make it possible for automobile owners to receive insurance compensation for damage to their own cars not covered by civil responsibility insurance, ADAS provides optional automobile accident insurance (casco), on the basis of which protection is provided in the following cases: (a) an automobile has been damaged by being struck while in movement by another vehicle or by moving or stationary objects situated outside the insured vehicle; (b) an automobile has been damaged as a result of skidding, overturning, etc, while in movement, this including damage resulting from defective parts of the automobile; (c) a moving or stationary automobile has been damaged by an unidentified motor vehicle; (d) a moving or stationary automobile has been damaged by being struck either by vehicles not covered by automotive civil responsibility insurance required by law or by pedestrians or by objects falling on the automobile and causing damage; (e) an automobile has been damaged by burning of the car itself or the building in which it is garaged, by explosion whether or not followed by fire, including explosion of a fuel tank or compressed air tank, by being struck by lightning, whether or not followed by fire, and lastly because of other natural disasters which can cause damage directly to the vehicle or indirectly as a result of collapse of a building roof on the car, etc; (f) other cases covered by insurance.

Automobile insurance premiums are differentiated on the basis of the piston cylinder capacity of the automobile. Insured persons also have the following rights: payment of annual insurance premiums differentiated on the basis of whether the insurance is obtained or renewed directly with the ADAS unit, whether or not coverage has been interrupted in the past, and whether or not compensation based on insurance contracts concluded has been received or owed in previous years; repair of ensured automobiles in repair shops without the obligation of prior payment to the shops, since the repair estimate amount is paid by ADAS directly to the repair shop involved.

Optional automobile accident insurance (casco) has been found to be, and in fact is, the most complete insurance for automobile drivers. Consideration of some of the situations which may arise and of the conditions under which such insurance is obtained clearly shows that this insurance is necessary and useful to any automobile owner, even when the civil responsibility automotive insurance required by law is in effect.

It should also be pointed out that, if a person has taken out the optional automobile accident insurance (casco), he can obtain additional insurance against damage done to his car driven by a person other than the insured or relatives of the insured, by paying an additional 25 percent of the premium provided for the automobile accident insurance (casco).

The range of optional automotive insurance is not confined to the forms discussed thus far. To provide for the widest possible variety of needs for insurance coverage of unforeseen situations which may arise while an automobile is in use, and for coverage of only certain categories of damage, through payment of insurance premiums, automobile owners may obtain other types of automotive insurance, such as (a) insurance of automobiles exclusively against damage caused by traffic accidents, in which case the insurance premium represents 80 percent of the amount specified for automobile accident insurance (casco), and (b) accident insurance of the drivers of automobiles and of other persons present in the automobiles, such insurance being obtained independently of coverage or non-coverage by automobile accident insurance (casco). This insurance covers, within the limits of the number of passenger seats permitted in a vehicle, the consequences of accidents undergone by persons riding in automobiles. The premiums for such insurance are determined in relation to the level of the amounts insured for each person.

To obtain any information connected with taking out insurance, payment of premiums, collection of claims, etc, citizens may apply to the public relations department in operation at every ADAS branch office, as well as individual work stations or ADAS inspectors.

ADAS represents a specific institution of great economic and social importance in Romania. It is a duty of honor of ours and of all persons to support its activities and to publicize the importance and purposes of insurance. This is especially the case since the bright prospects of progress and civilization for Romania opened up by the 13th Party Congress offer

broad new possibilities for extending insurance activities, just as such possibilities will exist in every sector of our economic and social life.

6115

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ROMANIA

HIGH MORTALITY RATES FOR INFANTS, MOTHERS DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 15 Dec 85 pp 1, 3

[Article by Dr D. Manolescu]

[Text] The joint meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Higher Health Council and the Executive Bureau of the leadership council of the Ministry of Health took place on 8 December 1984, with important problems of health protection being on the agenda. Participating in the work was Comrade Alexandrina Gainuse, vice premier of the government and president of the Higher Health Council.

Among the problems on the agenda, on the basis of which broad discussions were held, measures also were proposed to improve activity in the areas discussed, such as information on the evolution of the main demographic indicators for the 10 months of 1984; an analysis by stages of the way in which action has been taken to fulfill the plan of measures approved as a result of the report of the commission for health, labor, social security and environmental protection of the Grand National Assembly on health education of the population in accordance with Law No 3/1978; discussion and approval of the program of activity for the Higher Health Council and its Executive Bureau for 1985; the report on the way in which the ministry solved the problems raised by workers in letters and petitions in the third quarter of 1984; aspects of the activity and style of work of the workers in the Ministry of Health; the editorial and educational-health film plan for 1985.

The documents presented for discussion and debate and the measures proposed to eliminate the shortcomings in medical assistance were made in light of the decisions of the 13th party congress and the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the grand forum of communists.

Once again, what was stressed in the reports presented and in the broad discussions about them, in which university professors, directors of county health directorates, heads of clinics and directors of health units participated, were the correctness of the party's health policy, the special concern and decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the republic, to promoting the health of all the people and to preserving the youth and vigor of our nation.



The speakers stressed that the evaluations and challenges by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, made from the high tribune of the congress, stimulate the reflection, encourage the act and increase the commitment. The atmosphere of high patriotic and revolutionary enthusiasm in which the 13th party congress took place now is seeing its natural continuation in productive work and in the increasingly greater successes on all fronts of building socialism.

Stressed in particular was the fact that for workers in the health sector what is memorable is the fact that the report gave important attention to health protection of the population. What should be remembered in particular from the report is the part which points out that in the future "there will be continued improvement in health assistance, with a special emphasis being placed on prevention and protection of the people's health and on an increase in natality as an objective requirement for development and preservation of the youthfulness of our socialist nation. Among the measures planned to be carried out, we must reach a natality level of at least 18-20 per thousand inhabitants, with this being an objective need for slowing again of the population, preserving the appropriate ratio of age, ensuring the permanent youth of the people and developing our socialist nation."

The materials presented, which analyzed the actions taken by the Ministry of health and the county health directorates in the area of raising the quality of the medical act and the measures to improve the demographic indicators, having in mind the correctness of the criticism made of the health sector by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the broadened plenum of the Higher Health Council of March 1984, mentioned that in the first 9 months of this year, compared with the same period last year, a trend of improvement is being recorded in evolution of the main demographic phenomena, which, as the speakers stressed, guarantees that by increasing our efforts we shall be able to obtain better and better results in this direction. In January-September 1984, 17,300 more children were born than in the same period in the year before. Higher natality values were recorded by these counties: Vaslui (19.8 per thousand), Iasi (19.6 per thousand), Botosani (18.3 per thousand), Maramures (18.0 per thousand), while the lowest were in Arad (11.2 per thousand), Timis (12.2 per thousand), Teleorman (12.6 per thousand) and Caras-Severin (13.0 per thousand).

Criticism was emphasized regarding the fact that of the checks made by the Ministry of Health this year in more than 15 counties the result was that the methodological standards of the Ministry of Health are not being respected everywhere on the rate, quality and content of prenatal consultations. There still are women who do not receive correct and complex medical examinations needed in the medical dispensary for good supervision of the evolution of the pregnancy and there still are dispensaries-polyclinics where records on the risk pregnancies are not clear (in Caras-Severin, Neamt, Prahova counties) and they are not handled correctly at the dispensaries, interdisciplinary consultations are not made according to the illness associated with the pregnancy (the dispensary-polyclinics No 3 in Timisoara, Roman, Tirgu-Neamt and so forth) while they are not sent to the maternity units on time, the births are not always supervised by the physicians, who sometimes leave the delivery to the medical cadres, a birth which is vital both for mother as well as child (the maternity units in Rosiori de Vede and Turnu Magurele in Teleorman County, in Tirgu-Neamt, Neamt County, in

Racari, Dimbovita County, the Sinnicolau Mare maternity unit in Timis County and the Braila county maternity unit). It was stressed that these shortcomings are due both to the poor concern of the head physicians in the obstetrics-gynecology sections in the territorial hospitals with fulfilling the tasks for methodological guidance of the health network as well as inappropriately coordinating of this activity by the leaders of the health directors and the county hospitals.

The defects still persisting in the medical supervision of the pregnant women are a problem which is also reflected in the impermissibly high figure of maternal deaths through direct obstetrical risk, with most of these deaths being in Neamt, Prahova, Teleorman, Arges and Iasi counties.

The speakers sharply criticized the fact that serious violations of state laws have still been recorded; isolated cases still are being found among the physicians and health personnel, whose ethical and professional slogan is to protect life, who have committed the serious infraction of illegal abortion. Unanimously the speakers dissociated themselves from these criminal practices and pointed out that as long as there still is one person among medical-health personnel who does abortions, the Ministry of Health and each one of us cannot say that we have done our duty fully.

Another problem playing a large part in influencing the demographic indicators to which the party leadership drew attention repeatedly is general mortality. Faced with the situation where in some counties the general mortality is recording a very high indicator, the Ministry of Health has not organized analysis actions while the health directors have not taken enough measures to increase the quality of preventive medical assistance, curative and recovery assistance and have not followed up closely enough on eliminating the risk factors in the appearance of acute and chronic illnesses, in the application of adequate treatments and the rational use of natural cure factors.

Following up on the indication given by the party's comrade secretary general to the health sector, that of making a thorough analysis of the causes influencing the evolution of general mortality, at the beginning of 1985 the health council will organize a broad discussion of this important demographic phenomenon.

It also was pointed out that another basic goal for the medical sector which is the guarantee for the vigor and youth of our people is the protection and promotion of children's health. Continual improvement in the quality of medical assistance given both to the mother during pregnancy as well as to the child during the first year are reflected in the favorable evolution of the indicator of infant mortality, which recorded 22.5 deaths under one year of age per 1,000 live births compared with 23.6 per thousand in the same period last year.

The reduction in mortality--although still far from being at the level of possibilities--has been obtained through better activity of medical supervision, particularly at the homes of infants, particularly those at risk, through closer collaboration between the physician in the territorial dispensary and the specialized physician as well as through growth in the effectiveness of educational health actions for mothers to provide correct care for their children.

Also criticized were those county health directorates on whose territory there are defects in applying measures to improve curative and preventive medical assistance to the child. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Health repeatedly has dwelled on reduction of deaths of those under a year old at home until they are eliminated, the percentage of deaths is impermissibly high, in some counties even going as high as one-third of total deaths of those from 0-1 year old (in Bacau, Ialomita, Vaslui counties) while others are still exceeding the country average (in Tulcea, Giurgiu, Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Constanta, Gorj, Iasi, Vrancea counties). Guilty in this situation are the leaders of the health directorates, of the territorial hospitals and physicians who are heads of sections, who have not closely followed up on the way in which the infants are supervised daily, as recommended by the Ministry of Health. We see from the checks made by the Ministry of Health that there has not been complete respect in some maternity units for the standards of hygiene (which makes possible the appearance of interior infections); the newborn infant is not always taken over by the territorial dispensary in the first 24 hours following release from the maternity unit; the methodological standards of the Ministry of Health on the rate and quality of active visits to the infants' homes are not always respected by the health personnel; detailed reports by stages are made summarily and sometimes lack individual plans for the recovery of children with dystrophy and methodological guidance in some counties is given poorly.

The persistence of some shortcomings in giving medical assistance to the population of any age and at the level of all medical intervals requires intensification of actions of guidance and checking to have application of the technical instructions and standards of the Ministry of Health with a sense of responsibility and professional integrity with a view to increasing the quality of health protection of the population.

Also stressed in the conclusions of the discussions was the fact that medical-health personnel, broadly mobilized by the 13th party congress decisions, answering the calls of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general with high ethical-professional behavior, will find new solutions to take more effective action to increase the quality of the medical act and to further improve the demographic indicators.

The Ministry of Health and the county health directorates must continue the actions started following the broadened plenum of the Higher Health Council of March 1984, the commitment in actions for the technical-professional guidance of the best specialists, the organization of discussions in all counties to make specific the effective actions--specific to each county or territorial hospital--for improving the demographic indicators and for placing them at the level of demands of our party's policy.

Permanent concern with making the activity of the commune dispensaries vital to the maximum, with having technical and organizational help be given by the general practitioner in order to have a good knowledge of the state of health of the population in the territory he is responsible for--from the commune dispensaries and enterprises--as decisive levers in having a good knowledge of and favorably influencing demographic phenomena.

The county health directorates and health colleges for the health personnel---bringing out and achieving a productive exchange of experience among the leading medical-health cadres , a model of ethical and professional behavior--will act with all firmness against demonstrations of laziness, superficiality, lack of discipline, phenomena with particularly serious consequences for the activity of health protection and will introduce more exactingness into the style of guidance and checking, increasing responsibility for the way in which we use the material base created for an activity of a highly technical nature, honor and responsibility. Improvement in all demographic indicators primarily can be obtained by increasing the quality of medical assistance and by promoting the health of the entire population.

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YUGOSLAVIA

JAKOVLEVSKI DISCUSSES WEAKNESS OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Trpe Jakovlevski, executive secretary of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee: "Power and the Lack of It at the Top"]

[Text] With the adoption of the conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, as the final act in a debate lasting several months, a job that is undoubtedly very important in the broadly staged activity of the League of Communists has been done. That document is in essence the main link in the chain between the 13th Meeting and the specific initiatives and actions which are supposed to follow upon its adoption. For that reason and also because of the importance of the demands of the rank and file, because they were constructive and because they were concrete, the Central Committee has made a significant effort to bring the conclusions as close as possible to the proposals and to the demands that were made during the debate. As we have already said, that debate went beyond the framework set down in the proposed conclusions of the 13th Meeting.

Yet we should not delude ourselves that the text of the conclusions, however much it might have been improved, can in and of itself solve everything that the LCY has confronted in this historically important period, mindful above all that we face a great test of our authentic willingness and ability not only to give the right answer to the question of why we are in the situation we are in, but above all to answer the question of how we are to get out of it. After all, however successful we might have been in facing the implications as to the accountability of party members for shortcomings, for omissions, mistakes, and indeed even quite important deviant tendencies from the course of our fundamental commitments, it cannot be said that at the same time we have changed anything very essential in the course of the debate either with respect to the macroprocesses in society or with respect to the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee. Yet a particular effort was made through the debate to encourage precisely that kind of specific change and activity. From that standpoint it is in fact understandable that the debate directed harsh criticism towards the work of the leadership of the League of Communists at all organizational levels, especially towards the Central Committee and its political executive body. The essence of that criticism was aimed above all at the phenomenon of disunity in the League of Communists, especially within its bodies of leadership.

The question of the work and the influence of the LCY Central Committee is a

practical matter pertaining to the political leadership of our society, of our socialist revolution. This certainly is not confined solely to the program, the level of organization, and methods of its effort, which do of course deserve great attention, but it also has to do with creating conditions throughout the League of Communists for the LCY Central Committee to perform successfully its social function and the function it has in the bylaws. It is superfluous to open up a debate about the need to create those preconditions (since what we are talking about is an ideological and organizational necessity), but there certainly is a need to conduct a determined debate that respects principle concerning every case of behavior in the LC which does not guarantee that. This is before all others the duty of the LCY Central Committee -- its powers in this respect are irreplaceable and beyond doubt. Neither unjustified suspicions nor malicious charges and imputations, nor blanket and inaccurate judgments concerning the positions and activity of LCY leadership bodies may be allowed in this area; all of that is grist for the mill of the enemies of our society and of the League of Communists. The LC must deal harshly in ideological and political terms with any such attempt.

Taken as a whole, when we analyze the work, positions, and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, we can say that the strategy and basic lines of policy of the social development and activity of the League of Communists have not been questioned for a moment. To be sure, in certain areas of our social reality our commitments have not been accomplished, but not because they were perhaps erroneous or did not coincide with the strategic commitments of the LCY, but above all because there was not always sufficient exactness and analytical depth in assessment of the causes and consequences of the contradictions and difficulties in society, of the realism of the possibilities and demands, of the actual social situation and balance of power, in short -- of the relationship between the real and the possible. That is why the activity of the Central Committee has been "contradictory" to a considerable extent. That is, it was adopting a conclusion that said one thing, while something else was being done in practice. The Central Committee has not been acting (or has not been able to act) so as to alter that kind of practice by virtue of its own commitment, to direct it towards consistent implementation of policy and towards the positions which it has taken. At certain essential points it simply proved to be without the power to accomplish anything of the kind.

That is why numerous social issues of the greatest importance have remained unresolved, with all the negative consequences for the interests of the working class and for achievement of the constitutional position and responsibility of the LCY, its program and its policy. This kind of practice, which at the same time has escaped the oversight of the LCY rank and file, led to a separation of the leadership from the base, strengthened regionalisms and particularisms of various kinds, and political monopolies with adverse consequences for the unity of the LCY. It seems that democratic centralism has become a slender rod for frightening leadership bodies in the LC which have become independent and which have to be far more accountable for all the fateful questions of the working class and of Yugoslavia as a unified social and governmental community.

That is in fact how it came about that the "chain reaction" for which the Central Committee also bears responsibility, led not to the broadest revolutionary action organized out of unity (following the highflown utterance of class-revolutionary dynamism and the mobility of the members of the party and working people) led to summary discussions. Of course the summary discussions and syntheses of the partywide debate which were conducted in the central and provincial committees of the LC have not been questioned by anyone. They are an integral part of the overall activity, but in and of themselves, unless the activity of the rank and file and the organizations of the LC is organized on the broadest footing and is still stronger, they are not sufficient to achieve great results in the activity of the LCY. The social problems have in the meantime culminated to almost the point they reached in the seventies, when Tito was still on the scene and when he proved himself to be a strong cohesive factor in our movement and in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which had decisive importance to resolving the complicated social problems of that time. Under the present conditions the LCY Central Committee has to be that cohesive factor. Accordingly, it bears great responsibility for what was objectively possible and necessary not being achieved in the action.

#### The Dangers

The Central Committee, indeed the LCY as a whole, neglecting even the means that lie in its own bylaws, has not adapted its existence to the severity of the social situation, not indeed in this respect has it straightened out the situation in its own ranks. That it is how it could have come about that instead of a propagation and development of democratic relations in the LCY, bureaucracy and the reflexes of statist relations have arisen and imposed themselves, and that above all at the republic and provincial level, which explains why instead of the interests of the entirety of the movement expressed in the self-management pluralism of interests, as Kardelj put it, the partial interest has been postulated as the basic one, and an attempt has been made to impose it as the dominant one, whereby a serious threat has been created of disunity not only of the LCY, but indeed even of the working class. The responsibility for that situation, not to mention the constellation of problems concerning ideology, counterrevolutionary pressures of bourgeois and statist origin, the spotty attitude towards the class enemy and its activity, a number of unresolved issues concerning the system which could have been worked out, the hesitation to prevent dysfunctional processes, and inefficiencies in the political system which did not encounter sufficient support in development of the basic production relation, was borne in part by the LCY Central Committee. The LC should not, nor dare it, evade that responsibility.

The broad democratic dialogue which has been conducted these past months and rounded off at the 16th Meeting shows that the bureaucratic spirit in the ranks of the LCY and especially in its official bodies must be resolutely exposed and eliminated if we are to break it up in society as well, if we are to go developing and enriching the democratic initiative awakened by the debate of the rank and file of the LCY concerning the proposed conclusions of

the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. Otherwise there is no action, and when there is no revolutionary action, empty space is left for various forces of revindication. This, then, is one dimension (or at least a part of it) of our reality which ought to be under the magnifying glass of the constant critical thought of the entire rank and file and leadership of the LC.

Another group of problems is related to the attitude toward the productive forces and production relations, toward the state of the social economy and the problems which have to be resolved in those areas. If we have not altogether penetrated the economic laws of socialist commodity production, so that we would understand the economic contradictions and also the complexities of the differing and contradictory interests in society, and thereby the state of economic relations as well, then the question arises why we have not sufficiently committed ourselves to resolving those issues to the degree that was possible. That is one question. And the other is this: if we have comprehended the most important part of that and set down what we learned in the stabilization program -- why, then, is that program not being carried out in all its postulates? Is it at all possible to get by saying that merely with changes in the rate of foreign exchange and in interest rates it is possible to carry out a reform the range of whose measures and the depth of whose changes necessitate large-scale undertakings in present socioeconomic relations and economic policy without which we are jeopardizing or making counterproductive even what we have undertaken. Is it possible to explain everything in terms of the balance of social forces and in terms of overcoming that kind of situation -- when it is a question of expansion of statist and technobureaucratic forces and of various forms of group-ownership behavior -- since the ultimate consequences of that logic, if radical class-revolutionary measures are not taken, may lead all the way to a serious threat to the rule of the working class in our country.

The conflict between labor and management, as one of the dominant contradictions in society, must be resolved by the working class, led by the League of Communists, and that is why we cannot reconcile ourselves to attempts at "pacifying" this problem, even less in view of the fact that these attempts come from particular strata and structures of the rank and file of the LC which with tried and true methods, above all those of statism and bureaucracy, are restricting these flows of revolutionary changes on behalf of their own interests, their social position and monopolization of power.

### The Consequences

Nor at the same time can we reconcile ourselves to attempts, supposedly on behalf of the ideological struggle within the League of Communists, to seek a pluralistic option, regardless of origin, that is aimed at breaking down the democracy of socialist self-management and its political system, since its point of origin is the demand to transfer rule from the working class to certain other social groups, regardless of how "marginal" or indeed "elite" they may be. That is why we dare not take lightly the warnings about these things and turn a deaf ear to them. Like it or not, these efforts are organized to such a degree that they evidently intend to portray themselves



seriously as a political partner of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It does not matter whether they are a false Left or the real Right.

Opportunism in the LCY and in society in general favors the forms taken by the counterrevolution. That attitude is the generator of the present situation in the LCY, and it always comes about in the vanguard when the latter separates itself from the class, when the influence of the rank and file on the policy becomes weak, and when democratic dialogue from class positions and decisionmaking in a context of socialist alternatives are replaced by "setting things up," as Kardelj warned. When separation of the LC from the class becomes quite strongly pronounced, then the revolutionary protagonist is also replaced by the logic of separation. It is no longer, or is less and less, the working class, and the forums, which have assumed independence, become it more and more. This is the now classic form of party organization. The roots of opportunism are nourished by the oxygen given off as labor is fragmented, as the basic productive force of labor is displaced from the battlefield of decisionmaking to the margin of the historical process. Opportunism cannot be eradicated unless the process goes in the opposite direction. Bureaucracy and statism are not fought with words but with the class weapons of democratic struggle in socialist self-management, ever more fiercely, ever more resolutely every day. But it has to begin -- now already in specific terms -- within the Central Committee itself.

The necessary consequences should be drawn by pointing to several of the critical notes related to the work and position of the LCY Central Committee, as numerous threads in the debate that has taken place give us warning, not because our situation at the moment is predominantly colored in dark tones, still less to jeopardize the seriousness of the commitment, but so that practice changes along the line of the real needs. The conclusions and the work program of the LCY Central Committee in the coming period, and also the preparations of the 13th Congress, have created the prerequisites for the search for more viable ways of overcoming the problems which have been arising out of shortcomings in the work and the activity of the supreme body of leadership of the LCY in the interval between congresses.

The 16th Meeting of the Central Committee rounded off the assessments concerning the partywide debate that took place. It strove to draw certain lessons and enact documents which should meet expectations that after this meeting, above all through uninterrupted commitment of the entire League of Communists, the activities will continue, the offensive posture and mobility of the rank and file of the organizations and official bodies of the LC will be intensified, and the best use will be made of the mood that has been created and of the greater activism on the part of party members, working people and individuals, of their determination and desire to carry out the established policy and perform more successfully the specific tasks which have been set.

In this connection it is indispensable to involve the broadest possible potential of the creative forces of the League of Communists and of the entire society in the battle for that kind of practice and those changes which affirm working-class content and solutions.